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Henry Woodcock

to Bentley George
Romney
1841

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY,

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS;

WRITTEN IN GERMAN

BY THE BARON *RIESBECK*,

AND TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. MR. MATY,

LATE SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY, AND UNDER LIBRARIAN TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. II.

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The Reader will obſerve ſome irregularities in the *Numbers* of the Letters, owing to the different times at which they were tranſlated, and other cauſes ;—but the Letters themſelves are placed right.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

GERMANY.

LETTER XXVIII.

Vienna.

THE preſent court poſſeſſes ſeveral valuable collections, all of which are as much as poſſible open to the public. The imperial cabinet of medals hath ſcarce its equal in the world; there are twenty-two thouſand ancient coins; the modern coins are extremely valuable; likewiſe a very valuable, and to thoſe who wiſh to ſtudy the hiſtory of the middle ages, a very precious part of this collection, is, that which

 conſiſts

conſiſts of all the coins and medals from Charlemaine to this time. The thought was Charles the VIth's, but the collection owes its exiſtence to the emperor Francis, who laid out great ſums upon it. I ſay nothing to you of the ſeveral other rich collections of natural hiſtory, mathematical inſtruments, &c. &c. but, that like every thing the court poſſeſſes, they are open to every body, without the leaſt trouble. But the library is one of the moſt precious in the world. It conſiſts of more than three hundred thouſand volumes, twelve thouſand of which are valuable manuſcripts. The building in which they are preſerved is one of the handſomeſt in the town. It is open every morning till twelve o'clock, for all perſons who chooſe to come. They are furniſhed with tables, chairs, pen, ink, and paper; a ſecretary looks in the catalogue for the books wanted, which are immediately taken down from the ſhelves by ſome livery ſervants belonging to the court. There are fires in the room all the winter. None of the ſervants are allowed to take any thing. When once you are acquainted with the librarians, one of whom is always in a room adjoining, it is not ſo difficult to obtain prohibited books as has been pretended. Mr. Pilati, indeed, in his travels, ſays, that you cannot have a good book without

without the archbiſhop's permiſſion; but I myſelf read the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, and all Machiavel's works through, without any leave.

Excluſive of the court library, there are ſeveral other public places where people may read. The bookſeller Trattnern once took it into his head to have a learned coffee-houſe in his great palace. He promiſed to provide the ſubſcribers with all the newſpapers, periodical publications, and pamphlets, in all the living languages. If this project had been properly followed, it might have proved the foundation of an academy, or learned ſociety; but the ſubſcribers ſoon ſaw that Trattnern had no view but what regarded his own pocket. This Mr. Trattnern compels the profeſſors to ſell him their manuſcripts, and pays them not a farthing for them. He conceives himſelf to have this privilege as bookſeller to the court, and exerciſes an intolerable tyranny over all the bookſellers and *literati* of the place. Notwithſtanding the high tone he affects, he does not ſcruple to deſcend to the loweſt meanneſſes. He prints over again, with the imperial privilege, works which have been already printed with this privilege in the other parts of Germany. They ſay he has perſuaded the Empreſs,

that let a book be ever ſo ſucceſsful, the book-ſeller gets nothing by it, if he pays the expence of printing; ſo that beſide giving him the copy, ſhe often pays the whole expence of printing the books ſhe takes an intereſt in; but though Trattnern flatters her foibles in many reſpects, there is not a perſon in Vienna who diſobeys her orders more ſtrenuouſly. If you will pay him enough for them, he will procure you all prohibited books, even the moſt ſcandalous; and theſe are the only books which the generality care for; for it is not as with us, where you meet with *Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws*, *Voltaire's Univerſal Hiſtory*, and *Rouſſeau's Social Contract*, in the hands of people who make no pretences to literature. Here are many literati who know nothing of theſe, and the like books, which they leave entirely to the higher nobility, and ſome of the officers. What ſucceeds moſt here is buffoonery, and even the bettermoſt part of the reading public, is ſatisfied with plays, romances, and fairy-tales. I know a dozen young men of letters, as theſe creatures here call themſelves, who have read nothing ſince they came from ſchool, but German and French poets. I was once tempted to go round the table of the public library to ſee what the readers were employed in; two or three out of about

four and twenty were reading ancient writers, one was reading Sully's Memoirs, and all the reſt had either romances, or were looking over ſuch books as the *Muſeum Florentinum*, and the deſcriptions of the *Antiquities at Herculaneum*, for the ſake of the prints. I muſt, however, make one obſervation in honour of the Hungarians; theſe generally call for the ſeveral hiſtorians of their own country, and they appeared to me to read them with an animation that beſpoke the freedom of their government. May it not be owing to this difference of government, that the Hungarians, as I have generally obſerved, have more patriotiſm, and conſequently care more for the hiſtory of their native country than the Auſtrians do? I have not found one of all the latter, who had a taſte for any ſuch thing.

After what I have been ſaying, it is not extraordinary that the ſocieties of this country ſhould be as dead as they are. The ſubject of the theatre is ſoon exhauſted, after which there is nothing left but the news of the day, and trifling obſervations. It is only the women who keep up the converſation at all; theſe have infinitely more wit, vivacity, and knowledge of all kinds of things, than the men. In ſeveral houſes I was in, the men had nothing to ſay after the firſt quarter of an hour, but their wives

and daughters kept up the converſation with great chearfulneſs. It is very true, that their fund conſiſts only of the news of the day, but the news gives riſe to remarks, and remarks give riſe to obſervations and debates that often prove very intereſting; with the men there is not even this reſource, for they are too ſtupid even for this.

The women of this place are handſome and well made, but they have no colour, and their faces are not intereſting. They are eaſy and lively in their motions, their gait, and their ſpeech. They are more compoſed, more determined, and more manly than the French women, but not ſo heroic as the Engliſh. I cannot give you a better idea of them, than by telling you they are between French and Engliſh. There are no great beauties here, nor any very ugly women. They have not yet imitated our country women in their winter-dreſs, which continues to be of Polanaiſes, trimmed with very expenſive furs, which reach down to the feet. As theſe dreſſes have no high pockets, are open at the breaſt, and fall eaſily about the lower part of the body, they are favourable to the ſhape, and remind us of the Greek ſimplicity. A tinge of ſuperſtition, peculiar to the women of this place, is united to great ſenſibility of heart, and rather

ther tends to increaſe, than to repreſs love, friendſhip, and benevolence. Moore has made ſome good obſervations upon this ſubject, but nothing gives a better idea of the thing, than ſeeing a lady beſpeak maſſes in a convent, and give alms, with a wiſh that God may recover her ſick *Ciciſbeo*.

The *Ciciſbeat* is upon the ſame footing here as in Italy; it ſubſiſts amongſt the great as a mode that has been once eſtabliſhed; the poor take it up as a matter of trade; and it is only amongſt the merchants and manufacturers that you meet with any inſtances of jealouſy. I cannot forbear giving you a droll inſtance of the effects of this, which took place ſome years ago. A man of faſhion having been rather too frequent in his viſits to a rich tradeſman's wife; the huſband, who was diſpleaſed with the intercourſe, took the following method of putting a ſtop to it: one morning, when he knew the lovers were together, he ordered all his ſervants to be in waiting with flambeaux on the ſtairs; he then ſtepped into the room, and told his excellency, that his ſervants were come to light him home; the other was exceedingly ſurpriſed, but affected not to underſtand him; upon which the merchant immediately took him by the arm, and led him very ceremonioufly down ſtairs; here

the ſervants, armed with their flambeaux, ſurrounded him on all ſides, and led him into the middle of the ſtreet in broad day light; the tradeſman in the mean time ſtanding upon the ſteps of his houſe making bow upon bow, and under the pretence of recommending himſelf to the nobleman's cuſtom, ſhouting out his name as loud as he could.

You ſeldom hear of any extraordinary inſtances of impropriety and indecency in this place. Conſidering the ſtate of the country, it is not extraordinary, that a taſte for pleaſure ſhould be ſo prevalent as it is, it having certainly more food here than any where elſe. The number of poor is much ſmaller than at Paris, and, probably, than at London. Every thing, even the clothing of the loweſt ſervant-maid, beſpeaks a great degree of affluence. The prodigality of the higher nobility, the many, and great appointments paid by the court, and the extenſive commerce of the middling claſſes, greatly aſſiſts the circulation of money. The conſtant circulation of the town is eſtimated at twelve million of imperial guilders, or 12,000l. ſterling. The expence of living is likewiſe leſs than it is any where elſe, and Vienna is probably the only town, in which the price of the neceſſaries of life is not equal to the quantity of gold in circulation.

circulation. This ariſes from the great want of money in the neighbouring Hungary. You have good wine here for three kreutzers the bottle, and a very good dinner for twelve. I know a *traiteur*, who, for thirteen ſols a head, furniſhes a *table d'hote*, conſiſting of vegetables, broiled meat, a pudding, or roaſted calf's-liver, and beef; the bread and a gill of wine are included: in a word, the man with the *forty crowns* might live here very well, but if he has more, he will certainly be tempted to ſpend it. The more nature gives, the more neceſſities men make to themſelves, and ſhe is ſo profuſe here, that they of courſe become ſo too. The infinite number of richly penſioned dependants of the court, the numerous nobility, and the many ſtrangers who come here only for amuſement, know no other pleaſure, than to follow it whereſoever it leads. Riches, idleneſs, and the liberality of nature, muſt render a people diſſipated, whoſe religion is the oppoſite to frugality, and whoſe governors cannot give their ſpirits any other occupation.

The commerce of this country is now extremely flouriſhing; but it was a long time before the Auſtrians knew how to enjoy the advantages which nature had provided them with. Notwithſtanding they were maſters of one of the largeſt rivers in the world, which carries ſhips upwards of ſeventy German miles before it

it comes to them, and afterwards opens them a way into the Levant and Black Sea; there was no ſpirit of trade among them till the laſt Emperor's time. It is true, Charles the Sixth had done what he could to promote this ſpirit throughout the whole of his dominions, but though his attempts had been ſucceſsful in other places, he met with a diſappointment in the dutchy of Auſtria and the capital, for the nobility of theſe places ſtill conſidered merchants as a kind of brute beaſts; and the jeſuits kept the proteſtants, who, in the ſequel, did moſt for induſtry, either entirely at a diſtance, or were ſure to cruſh them, when they found means to creep in. The court, in ſhort, contracted many debts, and its credit grew too weak, to afford any ſubſtantial ſupport to thoſe who needed its aſſiſtance. The Emperor Francis, having reſtored the finances, was himſelf a merchant, and by degrees the nobility began to look upon the induſtrious merchant with a ſomewhat leſs degree of contempt. Still, however, a great deal was reſerved for the preſent Emperor, whoſe popularity, and averſion to old prejudices, are in no inſtance more conſpicuous than in this. He introduces ingenious artiſts and merchants into the firſt ſocieties. It is true, indeed, that thoſe who think all merit conſiſts in birth

and

and external appearance, neglect nothing to make the plebeian feel he is out of his element; but a word from the monarch ſets all to rights, and the more the nobleſſe diſturb themſelves, the more Joſeph is ſure to take opportunities of humbling their pride. Some years ago, when he was at Prague, he came into a large company, leading a citizen's wife by the hand; all the ladies immediately began to ſtare, but he took no farther notice of it, than by going down with her the only dance he danced.

After all, commerce would not be very flouriſhing, had not the clogs it was under, when the monarch's confeſſor was the director of all the departments in the ſtate, been taken off, and were it not moſtly in the hand of ſtrangers.

The facility with which ſo many foreign families make large fortunes, is a public and ſtriking inſtance of how much they ſurpaſs the natives in activity and underſtanding. The baron de *Fries*, the court banker, a *Mhulhauſe* by birth, who had no capital, has become, in an incredible ſhort time, one of the firſt bankers in Europe. He is worth at leaſt four millions of guilders. Moſt of the principal manufacturers and merchants come from Suabia, Franconia, Saxony, and other parts of Germany. The citizens of Nurenberg, Augſburg, Ulm, Lindaw,

Lindaw, and other cities, met here with a refuge from the tyranny, which every day more and more obtains in their own countries. Moſt of them have made their fortunes by good ſenſe, induſtry, and eſpecially by that frugality which ſo eſſentially diſtinguiſhes them from the natives. There is no doubt, but that the ſtrangers, and eſpecially the proteſtants, will likewiſe make a flouriſhing place of Trieſte.

With all this, however, trade is ſtill far below what it might be; but it makes great ſtrides every day. It is ſaid, there are already above a hundred ſilk weavers looms in the place. There are alſo pluſh and cotton manufactures, and foreign trade is carried on with Auſtrian and Hungarian wines, Bohemian and Moravian linens (which go by Trieſte into Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey), wrought and unwrought iron, ſteel and copper, leather, china, and other articles; theſe produce ſeveral millions. All this the government protects ſo heartily, that it has always a fund ready for the encouragement of the enterprizing and diſcrete projector. This fund it lends out without intereſt, for five, ſix, or even ten years, after which it receives intereſt gradually from one to two or three per cent.

From theſe beginnings great advantages are, no doubt, to be expected in the next generation, when,

when, inſtead of being proud of their debts, the nobility ſhall deign to be in company with a rich trader, and, inſtead of reaſoning on a bill of fare, will converſe with him on the profits of the year; but education muſt firſt be thoroughly reformed, for whilſt it is truſted to French abbés and chambermaids, all that is done for trade is but patch-work.

There is bad news about town; a few days ago the Empreſs returned indiſpoſed from a country expedition, and this indiſpoſition is now become a ſerious diſorder. The phyſicians fear an inflammation in the lungs, which from the frequent changes of the weather, is the common illneſs of this place. I hope to begin my next letter in better ſpirits than I finiſh this. Fare thee well.

LETTER

LETTER XXIX.

Vienna.

IT is paſt, and the great Thereſa, who, with all her weakneſſes, was one of the greateſt monarchs that ever ſat on the throne, is no more. —I will ſay nothing to you of the grief of her ſubjects, nor of the pompouſneſs of the funeral, nor of the mighty attendance that followed her to her grave; all theſe you will ſee in the public prints. It was well known that, either from the weakneſs natural to old people, or the apprehenſion that her ſucceſſor might make innovations ſhe diſapproved, ſhe had long looked upon death with ſome kind of fear and terror. This made her wiſh to avoid it, as it drew near; but when ſhe found this impoſſible, religion ſhewed itſelf in its full luſtre, and, though conquered, the Empreſs was ſtill the heroine. She converſed for ſeveral hours together with her ſon, and employed her cares about her family. To the laſt inſtant ſhe was the beſt of mothers. The ſucceſſor, on his part, though at the time of life when all the paſſions are at the higheſt, and though he felt himſelf on the eve not only of poſſeſſing a large empire, but of being free from the controul he had hitherto

met

met with in his moſt favourite projects, was in this moment only a ſon. He forgot every thing elſe, and could only weep for a mother, with the value of whoſe heart he was acquainted.

The family affection that obtains in the imperial houſe is very remarkable. I muſt lay before you ſome paſſages that ſet this amiable princeſs's character in a very ſtrong point of view.—No ſtranger to the pleaſures of virtuous love, ſhe wiſhed her children to enjoy them, but would have them enjoy them in the bounds impoſed by virtue and religion. With theſe views ſhe had given a free conſent to her daughter's marriage with a portioned prince of the houſe of Saxony, though contrary to the Emperor's inclination, who was afraid of the imperial houſe being burthened with too many dependants. Upon the ſame principle, when her ſon Maximilian was made coadjutor of the Teutonic order, and in conſequence obliged to take a vow of chaſtity, ſhe obtained a diſpenſation for him from the pope, in caſe he ſhould ever chooſe to leave the order and marry. Nor was it her fault that her other two daughters were not married, as nothing would have made her ſo happy as to ſee herſelf ſurrounded with a numerous train of grand-children. Another

trait

trait of thē ſame kind was her retaining the truly maternal love of her children, however elevated or however diſtant they were from her. As a proof of this, ſhe would frequently write both to the Queens of France and Naples, letters not only filled with the beſt of advice, but when there was occaſion for them, with the tendereſt motherly reproofs. She would often reprove the Emperor in company for trifles, after he had come to the imperial crown. This authority, however, which ſhe preſerved over all her children to the laſt inſtant of her life, was ſo tempered with true affection, that it diſpleaſed none of thoſe over whom it was exerciſed. Her happieſt hours uſed to be thoſe in which ſhe received letters from the courts of Verſailles, Parma, Naples, and Milan. Then ſhe would ſhut herſelf up in her cloſet, with her moſt intimate friends, and pour into their boſoms the pleaſure of being the mother of ſo fine an offſpring.

The archduke governor of Milan, and the duke of Saxe Teſchen, whom the Emperor is wont to call his very *dear* relations, will feel her loſs very ſeverely, as they cannot but ſuffer from the œconomy which the Emperor is ſo rigid a maſter of even towards himſelf.

Since

Since the Empreſs's death is known, you may obſerve a wonderful change in the faces and actions of the prieſts and court attendants. The prelates, who a few days ſince rode over the bellies of the people in the ſtreets, now ſneak about chop-fallen, and the courtiers ſeem to be buried in thought how to pay their debts. But before I indulge myſelf in conjectures on what is to come, I will lay before you the preſent ſtate of the country as the Empreſs left it.

The houſe of Habpſburg Loraine, now ranks as one of the greateſt powers in Europe; the only rivals of its greatneſs are Ruſſia, France, and Great Britain; but at the beginning of this century, and till the time it belonged to the late Empreſs, it was one of the middling powers of Europe, and it required all the ſtrength of England, and all the money of Holland, to ſupport it, whenever it attempted to take any great part in buſineſs. Even at the time when the ſun did not ſet in its dominions, it was not as formidable as it is now: at length the loſs of ſo many kingdoms and provinces taught it, that the ſtrength of a ſtate does not ſo much conſiſt in the quantity of its internal power, as in the uſes it is able to make of it. A great man, who ſerved it at a time when it was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Alſatia, Naples, Sicily, and ſeveral

other countries, compared it to a pyramid, which ſtands upon its point, and totters by the weakneſs of its principal part. The pyramid is now ſomething lighter, but it ſtands, as nature intended it ſhould, on its own proper foundations, firm and unſhaken.

If all the Auſtrian dominions lay together, they would contain a larger extent of country than France. Hungary, with Tranſylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Temeſwar, and part of Dalmatia, contains 4760 ſquare miles; Bohemia 900, Moravia, with part of Sileſia, 430; the circle of Auſtria, Styria, and the Dukedom, with Carynthia, the Ukraine, the country belonging to Auſtria in Suabia, the Earldom of Falkenſtein, the newly acquired part of Bavaria, and part of Frioul, 2200; the Netherlands, 500; the poſſeſſions of Lombardy, 200; the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, together with Buckovina, which has been taken from the Turks, 1400; in all 10,360 ſquare miles; whereas, France hardly contains 10,000. You will ſay, the difference is not very great—it is not; but when the expected junctions of Tuſcany, and the Modeneſe are made, it will be worth attending to. As to natural bleſſings, they have been beſtowed ſtill more plentifully here than in France; for there

there are no luxuries to be met with in the latter which ſome countries belonging to the Emperor do, or may not produce, wine, oil, and ſilk not excepted; and as to matters of prime neceſſity, ſuch as corn and cattle, they would be able to furniſh half France with them, after providing their own people. The ſeveral ores too, which are found in the hills round Hungary, in the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, are of as much profit to the country, as thoſe of Portugueſe and Spaniſh America to their poſſeſſors; ſo that if there was only ſuch a ſea coaſt as ours, and the country was improved to what it might be, no doubt it would be a fourth richer than France; but our fortunate ſituation, the waters we command on all ſides, and the navigable rivers, which carry out our exports from the moſt remote parts of the country, give an advantage which is not to be diſputed.

Hungary is, without doubt, the richeſt part of the Auſtrian dominions;—it not only poſſeſſes every thing that is produced in the other countries, but feeds them with its overflow, and excels them as much in the quality, as in the quantity of what it produces; but here we have great occaſion to obſerve the truth of that axiom, that the more nature does for man, the

leſs he commonly does for himſelf. The inhabitant of the Swiſs mountains extracts his ſuſtenance from his nakedneſs, and has changed wilderneſſes into cultivated and inhabited lands; the Hollander has turned the muddy ſands of the Rhine and Maeſe, what the ſea is conſtantly diſputing with him, into a garden, whilſt the excellent grounds in Hungary ſtill lie waſte. I believe, that at Vienna, they think that the plenty Hungary is able to export, is owing to its own population; but it is not ſo; for were it three times as much peopled as it is, it would export in much greater plenty ſtill, if the cultivation was what it is in the greateſt part of Suabia. As things now are, not only a great part of this fruitful land is uncultivated, but even that which is cultivated is not turned to near the advantage it might. In this country they know nothing of artificial cultivation, ſuch as dunging in a cheap way, the mixture of different earths, and the uſe of chalky clay to manure, though parts of the country produce this laſt commodity in great abundance. They ſuffer, at leaſt more than half the ground there is need for, to lay fallow. Their common way of threſhing, is by driving oxen over the corn, by which half of it is left for ſtraw. When you are travelling through

through this country, you think yourſelf going over a wild, though you are in fact upon a bottom, which with very little trouble would produce fifty, ſixty, or even one hundred fold. The roads are of an immenſe breadth, and the fields adjoining them of ſo little value, that the poſtilions drive through them, without the leaſt ceremony, whenever a little mud or rain in the highway reminds them of its being more convenient.

The inhabitants excuſe their bad farming by the little value which grain bears, and ſay, that if their harveſts were ten times greater, they ſhould gain nothing by them. There may be ſome truth in this, but the fault is certainly owing originally to a bad government. The value of grain would undoubtedly increaſe, with an increaſed population, and if the farmer had ſufficient encouragement, the land might be put to other uſes, beſides the growing of grain. They already grow a great deal of tobacco, ſaffron, and other valuable articles; but there are numberleſs others which might be produced, if, what you will ſcarce believe, government did not rather ſeek to diſcourage, than promote agriculture.

The exportation of the Hungarian wines, one of the richeſt products of the country, and

which, if it were free, would ſoon ruin the ſale of the French wines in the North, is clogged with innumerable obſtructions. Theſe the legiſlature impoſes under the idea, that if once they did not exiſt, the trade of the Auſtrian wines would be ruined. The diſcouragement in conſequence has been carried to ſuch a height, that not long ſince there exiſted a law, that no quantity of Hungarian wine ſhould be exported without exporting ſo much Auſtrian wine with it. This, no doubt, ſuits the Auſtrian nobility who have eſtates with vines upon them; but it is feeding the little finger at the expence of the whole body; for, as none but thoſe who can afford to pay exorbitantly for their drink will buy the Auſtrian wines, the conſequence is, that, except a few of the rich nobility, France ſupplies all the North, which otherwiſe would take its wine from Hungary. Nor does the evil end here; the Hungarian peaſant, who is oppreſſed by his lord, ſeeks to drown his ſorrow in the cup, which he either makes himſelf, or can buy in moſt places for two, three, or four creutzer the bottle. The conſequence of this is, that men who in their youth are plump, ruddy, and ſeemingly built for ever, grow pale, emaciated, and dwarfiſh, and begin to droop after thirty, ſo that the

the population is already much diminiſhed, and would grow leſs and leſs, if it were not for the acceſſion of foreigners. It is partly owing to this, and partly to the want of education, that many tracts of the country have the exact appearance of American lands, and, were it not that you ſee no ſcalps or enemies ſkulls to drink out of, you would often think yourſelf in company with ſo many Cherokees. The tax on Hungarian tobacco, when exported, is no leſs hurtful to the agriculture of this country. Certainly the farmers of this part of the revenue in the Auſtrian dominions ought to have it in command to import ſuch a proportion of Hungarian tobacco, with all they import from other places.

There is no country in the world which has a greater variety of inhabitants than Hungary. The ancient poſſeſſors of the country were partly Tartars, and partly Sclavonians. Amongſt the former we may reckon the Hungarians, now properly ſo called, the Cumanians, the Seclers and the Yatſigers. Their manners and appearance plainly ſhew that they are of kin to the Calmucks, and deſcendants of the old Scythians. Their deep eyes, angular cheek bones, and yellow ſkins, diſtinguiſh them from the Sclavonians, who beſides are whiter,

more fleſhy, and ſtouter built. There are ſeveral parts of the country in which both the races are continued pure and unmixed. The Sclavonians conſiſt of Croats, Bohemians (who originally are a branch of the Croats), Servians, Ruſſians, and Wenden Polackers. There are beſides German coloniſts, but if they chooſe to poſſeſs lands, they muſt buy their nobility for 2000 ducats, which make about 22000 livres. Beſides all theſe, there are Walachians, Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gypſies, which laſt are the richeſt of all theſe foreigners.

All theſe people, a few of the German coloniſts only, and the higher nobility, which is modelled after the faſhion of the court of Vienna, excepted, are ſtill in a barbarous ſtate.

Indeed it muſt be owned that the court inſtead of ſucceeding in improving them, as it has done the reſt of its ſubjects, has rather done them harm than good, by the attempts it has made for the purpoſe. Whilſt they were left to themſelves, they were warlike, and, like all the children of nature, whom a falſe policy has not ſpoiled, open-hearted, hoſpitable, frank, and ſteady to their promiſes. An old officer, who ſpent his youth among the Croats, has aſſured me, that they are not to be known ſince they

they have been diſciplined; for, inſtead of being a truſty, ſpirited, and generous ſoldiery, they are become a band of treacherous, tricking, cowardly robbers. 'I had much rather,' ſaid he, 'have had to do with them when they 'were entirely undiſciplined, and under the 'influence only of their own laws and cuſtoms. 'It is true they plundered both friend and foe 'when we went into the field, and committed 'every kind of depredation in the towns where 'they were quartered; but theſe were the 'workings of a ſtrong ſenſual appetite, which 'did not prevent their being of the greateſt 'ſervice. They uſed to take the moſt dangerous out-poſts, in the very teeth of the enemy—never deſerted—would follow their 'officers with the utmoſt fidelity through any 'dangers—could faſt many days without making any complaints, and provided you left 'them what they had ſtolen, which they did 'not affect to conceal, were indefatigable on 'a day of battle. The alteration which diſcipline has effected in them is, that they, indeed, ſteal no longer openly, but they ſteal 'ſecretly, and ſteal from each other whenever 'they can; they have learned the methods of 'concealing their thefts, and are always making cabals againſt their officers; and though

'become

'become too cowardly to desert when there 'is any danger attending desertion, they are 'sure to do it whenever they can with safety. 'They grumble whenever they are kept two 'days embodied in the field, and never put on 'their uniform without cursing it. They look 'upon their overseers as their enemies, and 'hate them. Formerly it was an unheard of 'thing, for a Croat to go over to the Turks, 'but now they join them to the number of '20 and 30, and plunder their native country. 'The same thing is true with regard to the 'Sclavonians; and even the rest have been 'rather hurt than bettered by regulations not 'adapted to their circumstances.'

What this gentleman said from experience is conformable to true philosophy; for it is only by religion that you can ever be successful in civilizing a barbarian. Any other attempt, any restriction which tends to cure him of his vices, without shewing him the advantage of virtue to himself, only makes a motley composition of the faults of the two states.

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

Vienna.

NO doubt but there is much illuſion in Rouſſeau's idea of a ſocial contract. Fate, which plays ſo many other games with us, throws us into ſome peculiar ſociety, by which we are fettered before we have time to think of a contract. Accident, and iron hearted neceſſity, have been the true legiſlators, of all the monarchies, ariſtocracies, democracies, and their numerous ſubdiviſions, that ever exiſted in the world. It is likewiſe certain, that upon the whole, we find ourſelves better under the direction of capricious fortune, than if we had ſet down originally to bind and connect each other in eternal chains. The will of the ſtrongeſt ſtill remains the ultimate decider of all difficulties, and whatever covenants there might have been, it muſt have been ſo, as often as the ſtrongeſt ſhould have felt his weight, or his intereſt ſhould have come in competition with that of others.

It is nevertheleſs true, that in theſe various gallies to which we are chained, the good of the whole cannot be better promoted, than when the will of the whole, or at leaſt of the majority,

majority, are directed according to the plumb-line of legiſlation, and of ſocial contract. No Sultan has any thing to fear from this participation of his power, though he ſhould divide it with all his ſubjects, from his Grand Vizier, to the loweſt ſlave under him. The ſovereign, whether he has one head, or a hundred, cannot promote his own intereſt more effectually, than by conſidering his ſupreme will as the reſult of the enlightened wills of all, or the greater part of his ſubjects. A real oppoſition between the intereſts of the governor and his ſubjects never exiſts, when it ſeems to do ſo, it is only the coſenage of accident. All hiſtory is full of this truth, the attention to which, will effectually ſecure the people from tyranny, even when the private character of the ſovereign is a cruel one. The prince can never be more ſecure from murder, treachery, and rebellion, than when he has convinced his ſubjects that their intereſts is the rule of his legiſlation, and it muſt be ſo, if he will not hurt himſelf. Intereſt is the moſt ſacred band among men, and their happineſs depends upon knowing what it truly is. The misfortunes of men, have been always more owing to their governors not knowing in what their true inte-

reſts

reſts conſiſted, than to their wickedneſs, or depravity.

Superſtition, and the diſſipation of princes together, firſt invented that ſpecies of politics, the principles of which Machiavel firſt collected, but did not invent. Nero and Auguſtus had already uſed it, but it was only in modern Italy that it was conſidered as a true art of government. From thence, with other arts and ſciences, did this hoſtile art to human nature ſpread itſelf over the reſt of Europe. The miniſters of ſeveral European courts, which had formed themſelves after the Italian models, imagined they would govern the better, the finer and more ſubtle policy they adopted. Lewis XI. Richelieu, and Mazarin, were the great maſters of this art, and from that time to this, the happy times of Henry IV. alone excepted, it would have been looked upon as folly in France, to have aimed at governing the people, by love, generoſity, and information with regard to their true intereſts.

The prieſts, particularly the jeſuits, whoſe government of their own ſociety is eſtabliſhed upon principles of the ſame kind, contributed much to give them currency in courts. There they were treated as holy myſteries, which, like the philoſopher's ſtone, could make demigods of the poſſeſſor.

Blinded

Blinded by this political art of gold making, princes dared to deviate from the plain and ſtrait line of nature, that line which always conducts to happineſs, which is the ſame in a ſtate as in a private family, according to which every governor muſt conſider himſelf as the maſter of a private family, who has no other view than to promote the happineſs of his children, and his ſervants.

The Jeſuits, and ſome Italian *parvenus*, introduced the ſpirit of Machiaveliſm into this country. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the humour of the nation, or any other cauſe, that it was not attended with the ſame bad conſequences here, as in Italy, France, Spain, and even England, where the groſſeſt abuſes of religion, friendſhip, and love, were ſanctified under the name of ſtate neceſſity; and treachery towards friends, with the murder of fathers and brothers, were only conſidered as political *jeu d'eſprits*. Although this court has not ſtained itſelf ſo deeply with royal blood, or even with that of dangerous ſubjects, as thoſe above mentioned, it muſt be confeſſed that its adminiſtration, particularly what relates to Hungary, has had ſome little appearance of cunning and oppreſſion about it. No doubt but that religious prejudices, from which

which the Empreſs, amiable as ſhe was, was not quite free, have contributed in great meaſure to this.

On the very aſpect of things, one ſees that the government of this country is inſidious. The intereſts of the higher nobility are different from thoſe of the reſt of the country; their under tenants, which make the greateſt part of the people, are not feudal ſubjects, neither have they any real property; they are farmers who may be turned out of their farms upon the leaſt diſſatisfaction. The nobility contributes nothing but free gifts to the neceſſities of the ſtate, though it is in poſſeſſion of half the produce of the country. It is almoſt the only order in the ſtate, for the higher orders of the prieſthood are choſen from the nobility, ſo that the intereſts of the two orders is in fact one. The cities are too ſmall in number, and too inſignificant in themſelves, to form any corps capable of making head againſt the other two. In ſhort, the boaſted freedom of Hungary is only a privilege of the nobility and clergy, to live at the expence of the whole country.

Hitherto, the court have tried every artifice to deprive the nobility of this pernicious preponderance. The conteſt between the ſovereign and

and the nobles ſoon broke out into ſeveral rebellions, the moſt famous of which were thoſe of Tekely and Ragotzki. The execution of Counts Serini, Nadaſti, Frangipani, and Settenback, which followed cloſe, have been quoted by ſome, to ſhew, that the court of Vienna, though generally unwilling to recur to them, is not incapable of uſing Turkiſh meaſures to free itſelf of troubleſome and dangerous dependants. I own I think that its conduct on other occaſions ſufficiently juſtifies it from theſe reproaches; and, indeed, if the teſtimony of hiſtory is to be believed, it appears that theſe nobles were traitors. The plan which the court has followed for a long time, to reduce this overgrown nobility, promiſes much more ſucceſs than any extraordinary acts of ſeverity, which only ſerve to irritate the minds of men, and ſet them more upon their guard. The court of Vienna, conſcious of the influence, luxury and pleaſure have over the minds of men, allured the proud Hungarians from their freeholds to the court, or to the city. By diſtinguiſhed places, titles, and marriages, they gave them opportunities to ſpend their money in a brilliant way, to contract debts, and finally, by the ſeizure of their lands for the payment, to ſurrender at diſcretion. The deceived Hun-

garian looked upon it as an honour, to connect himſelf with the Auſtrian, who made a greater figure than himſelf at court, and took a greater ſhare in the government of the country. For this purpoſe he choſe his wife at Vienna, and fettered himſelf by this means. The lady too, by introducing the court manners into his houſe, finiſhed corrupting him, and made him entirely dependant. There is hardly an Hungarian noble, at this time of day, that is either free from debt, or that does not, like the Auſtrian one, look upon his debts as an honour. The court has conſequently no further commotions to fear in this country, as the diſcontented people will not eaſily find a leader with power and conſequence enough to make their riſings dangerous.—The diſſipation of the Hungarians has alſo bound them to the court by another tie, as their neceſſities no longer allow them to ſerve for nothing, but make the pay of the court an object to them.—Another way that has been taken, has been that, of allowing the Auſtrian nobility to purchaſe Hungarian eſtates, in proportion as the owners were obliged to ſell them, or, as they fell into the crown by forfeitures, &c. At this time of day, ſeveral amongſt the firſt Hungarian nobility are Germans, who ſtrengthen the influence of the

court. The two nations are mixed, their manners are nearly the ſame. The more perſons partake of it, the more indifferent the Hungarian is to its liberty, and the leſs eſtate he poſſeſſes, the leſs he cares for his country. The promotion of the higher eccleſiaſtics to great perferments, is another mode of binding the nobility, which the court has practiſed with ſucceſs.

Beſides what has been already ſtated, the court uſes ſeveral other means, that depend upon time and circumſtances. One of the moſt efficacious is, the loading the produce of Hungary with very heavy taxes. Theſe oppreſſions indeed, immediately affect the nobility only, to whom the exports properly belong, as the people have no property; but, indirectly, they hurt the whole country, and particularly the manufacturer, and merchants in great towns, by the diminution of the coin in circulation. The duties on the exports of Hungarian wines, are ſo conſiderable, that the Croats who inhabit the mountains, are obliged to buy the wine, which, but for theſe duties, they might have as cheap from their fellow ſubjects, in Venetian Dalmatia. The fact is, the court had rather let the country loſe money than ſuffer Hungary to be rich.

Almoſt

Almoſt all the employments of the country, which the conſtitution does not require to be given to natives, are poſſeſſed by Germans, who often prove the moſt terrible deſpots. Thus, in the cities of Illyria, which depend entirely on the council of war, and are entirely under military government, almoſt all the employments are held by foreigners. The Germans have made themſelves ſo odious here by their tyranny, that the Croat knows no more odious name, than to give a man that of a Suabian. 'He is a Sua-'bian,' means with them every thing that is deteſtable and contemptible. Under the name of Suabian, the Croat, as well as the inhabitants of Vienna, includes every German, who is not an Auſtrian. The natives of Auſtria, who are ſent into Hungary, behave there like Turkiſh Pachás, or Nabobs: their pride leads them to make the Hungarians feel, that they are the ruling nation; their diſſipation compels them to uſe every extortion, to procure money; and they are made ſtill worſe than they otherwiſe would be, by the difference of their manners, and religion. It is from the oppreſſion of foreigners, that the native Illyrian has taken the diſhoneſt and ſtubborn part of his character, which is ſo unnatural to him.

Notwithſtanding that the principal places are occupied by great men, it is impoſſible to be more worthleſs than the greater number of the public ſervants are. Generally ſpeaking, there is not a grain of patriotiſm, a grain of knowledge, a grain of good will, or a grain of activity, amongſt them. Pride, vanity, ſelf intereſt, and, hard-heartedneſs, diſtinguiſh them all. The only things they look up to, are the pays, and the titles, and they treat buſineſs as a matter of indifference. Do not imagine that I exaggerate, for I aſſure you that what I ſay is, with very few exceptions, literally true. The native Hungarians, who have a ſhare in the government of their own country, have infinitely better underſtanding of the duties of their places, and more delight in diſcharging them, than the Auſtrians; and yet theſe poſſeſs almoſt all the places, and the others are expoſed to their tyranny!

Our great Henry uſed to ſay, 'happy is 'the gentleman who has his 5000 a year, and 'does not know me.' If the Imperial court is deſirous that the Hungarian ſhould enjoy any kind of happineſs, it is certainly not that recommended by the great Henry. They look upon it as indiſpenſibly neceſſary to bind them in court chains, and take away every feeling of liberty

liberty and true honour from them. They do all they can to ſtifle their national ſpirit; they have no idea of the honour of ruling over a free and ſentimental people, but conceive they muſt make ſlaves of the whole nation, in order to govern it.

The moſt cruel violations of the national contract, and the liberty of mankind, have been thoſe which have ariſen on a religious account. I can ſafely affirm, that it would take two hundred years more to undo the miſchief which this court has done itſelf, during the two laſt hundred years, by the religious perſecutions in Hungary. It is, indeed, one of thoſe contradictions which moſt feelingly beſpeaks the debility of the human mind, that whilſt the preſent adminiſtration, on the one hand, does all it can to promote population and induſtry in Hungary; on the other, it perſecutes in every way poſſible, the moſt induſtrious part of its ſubjects, and that part whoſe religious opinions, are the moſt favourable to population.

One fourth of the inhabitants of the Hungarian dominions, in which I include Tranſylvania and Illyria, are Catholics; one fourth are Greeks, Jews, and Anabaptiſts; the other half are Lutherans, or reformed. From the circumſtance of the religion of the country being

Catholic, it was natural to expect that the Roman Catholic religion would be the eſtabliſhed one of the ſtate. With this no ſenſible man would have been offended;—but to take away three hundred churches from the Proteſtants, while the Jews had the power of building as many ſynagogues as they pleaſed;—to force Proteſtants to go twelve miles to church, whilſt many Catholic churches where tenanted by rats and mice only;—to take away the Proteſtant ſchools, and yet to allow the parents to ſend their children abroad for education;—to be eager after improvement in agriculture and induſtry, and yet rather ſee the land inhabited by Calmucks and Gypſies, than by laborious and moral Proteſtants;—to treat theſe worſe, in ſhort, in every reſpect than the Turks or Jews, this certainly was pulling down with one hand, what the court was endeavouring to rear with another; it was deſtroying the national character, without improving the external circumſtances of the people. It is now well known, and the example of the Engliſh fully proves it, that the only way out of barbariſm, is through real religion. Judge then what it muſt be to tread this road backwards, and to ſubſtitute the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of monkery, for the mild and induſtrious ſpirit of pro-

proteſtantiſm. And yet the Auſtrian government *has* done this, and it has done it, at the very time when it was endeavouring to curb the power of the prieſts in the other parts of its dominions, and forming ſuch eſtabliſhments of education, as muſt ſooner or later lead to Proteſtant principles.

The Proteſtants in Hungary are, it muſt be confeſſed, far behind their brethren in other countries, in induſtry and knowledge, and yet, notwithſtanding this, and that they are only one fourth of the inhabitants of Hungary, they pay half the taxes, and are ſtill much richer than their Catholic or Greek brethren. A ſtriking ſign, ſure, if ever a ſtriking ſign there was, how much their religion correſponds with the good of the whole, and how little the court knows of its own intereſt. What the court has moſt hurt itſelf by, is its treatment of the Greeks, who form ſo large a part of the inhabitants of this country. Inſtead of rendering the prieſts of theſe ſemi-barbarians uſeful paſtors, and thus enabling them to civilize their countrymen, and make them good members of ſociety, all they have been ſolicitous about has been, now and then to convert an ambitious, or avaricious prelate, to the eſtabliſhed church. The ſwarms which generally followed theſe

deſerters, commonly changed nothing but their name. From being Greek barbarians they became Catholic barbarians, or, as a reſpectable Auſtrian officer ſaid, it was only adding another mark to the forehead of the ſwine. In the mean time, the court troubled itſelf very little with the education of the Catholic, and united prieſthood, and ſtill leſs with that of the non-united, things which it is ſo much the intereſt of the legiſlature to attend to, as the ſureſt means of improving the agriculture of the country, and promoting its exports.

The Greek prieſts in Hungary, and Illyria, are exactly in the ſame ſtate as the Roman Catholic prieſts were, in the time of Charlemagne that great man, who laid the firſt grounds of national improvement in religion, and began his work with the prieſthood. I doubt much, whether moſt of them can write and read, but I am ſure they cannot reckon beyond three or four, without the help of their fingers, and know not the uſe of the pocket handkerchief. One of theſe ſhepherds of ſouls, a Macedonian by birth, who valued himſelf much on his knowledge of the Greek, and the reputation of his countryman, Alexander, took it into his head to inſtruct me, as a young man, in the hiſtory of the Trojan war. He told me that a Trojan prince,

prince, having run away with a French princeſs, the Greek and Roman Emperors, the King of France, and the ſeven Electors, went to Troy, and took the city, after an aſtoniſhing long ſiege, by means of a wooden horſe filled with armed men.—The man had heard the hiſtory by tradition, in Saloniki, or ſome other town of his ignorant country, but had not read a ſingle old Greek author, or a ſingle hiſtory. Notwithſtanding this, he was looked upon as a wonder of learning by his colleagues. Spite indeed of their groſs ignorance, theſe prieſts are held in greater veneration by the people, than either oracles of Delos, or Delphi were. Theſe are true privileged thieves, who never ſhew a ſpark of underſtanding, but in the tricks they play to rob the people of the fruit of their toil; but are yet ſo convinced of their pretenſions to the wool of their ſheep, that they make no ſcruple of taking the head with it, if the patient animals will not ſuffer themſelves to be ſheared quietly. The Catholic prieſts, who live at any diſtance from the large towns, are little behind the Greeks in ignorance, and ill manners,—nor are they far behind them, in ſhearing the ſheep. Their whole library conſiſts of their breviary, and the only thing they ſtudy is the Latin language. I happened to converſe with one of them

them who is extremely reſpected in his own diſtrict, and really is diſtinguiſhed for a better underſtanding, and better manners than the reſt of them. The converſation turned on the German coloniſts who go into Hungary. I aſked them how they treated them when they could not bear the climate. His anſwer was; 'Damus illis licentiam *repatriandi*.'—And now I mention theſe Germans, I cannot help obſerving to you how extraordinary it is, that whilſt a third of North America is peopled by theſe wandering Germans, whilſt one half the inhabitants of the Cape, Batavia, and Surinam, (the two laſt ſome of the moſt unhealthy places any where to be found) are Germans, who thus croſs extenſive ſeas to break up waſte lands, or to get hard bread in the capacity of day labourers; Hungary, which has work and bread for ſo many millions, ſhould receive ſo few. Surely this muſt be owing to the prevalence of greater barbariſms than any poor prieſts barbarous Latin; for as to the pretended cauſe, unhealthineſs of climate, Hungary is no more unhealthy than ſeveral other climates, and the natives know how to take precautions againſt the damps ariſing from the moraſſes. But the want of freedom in religion explains all; it is greatly owing to this cauſe that all the uſeful

men emigrate, and leave Hungary only the worthleſs ones. The great fault of this government is, that they baniſh the Proteſtants, who are the moſt uſeful part of their ſubjects. Theſe indeed have little deſire to ſettle in a country in which they muſt often go journies of ſeveral days, to ſee a prieſt of their own perſuaſion, where they are not allowed to build a church, and where the hatred towards them and their religion, effectually and perpetually excludes them from civil employments. All theſe hindrances are removed, under the gentle government of the Dutch and Engliſh, who of courſe run away with all the uſeful emigrants, and leave Auſtria only the worthleſs ones. The perſons who ſettle in Hungary, are for the moſt part abandoned ſcoundrels from Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia, and the countries about the Rhine. On their arrival they commonly ſquander the ſmall ſums of money they have raiſed at home, by the ſale of their eſtates, and as government takes little care about them, they generally die of grief, or diſorders ariſing more from their diſſipation than the climate. That part of them which happens to beg its way back again, repreſents the climate worſe than it is, as an excuſe for having left it. This alſo deters many people from coming. Thoſe who

who have money enough, prefer America to Hungary, which by this means becomes the refuge of ſuch only who have a few ducats to pay their paſſage on the Danube.

Theſe, however, ſuch as they are, would ſtill be a conſiderable gain to ſo poor a country as Hungary is, if government was ſufficiently intereſted in their fate, to provide for the diſtreſſes they muſt be expoſed to, from the danger of the climate, and their own inexperience, and to give them ſome aſſiſtance in their firſt ſettlement. There ſhould be an office eſtabliſhed at Vienna, or Preſburg, where theſe wanderers ſhould be taught the firſt rudiments of the arts they have occaſion for. They ſhould be told in what places they are likely to meet with moſt of their own countrymen, as nothing promotes colonization ſo much, as when the new comers find perſons of the ſame manners and language with themſelves, or with whom they are connected by the ties of friendſhip, or relationſhip. The Germans, as it is well known, are ſo divided amongſt themſelves, that thoſe of one circle look upon thoſe of another as abſolute ſtrangers to them. All the Bavarians ſhould therefore be ſettled in one diſtrict, and the inhabitants of Franconia, Suabia, &c. in ſo many others. Above all things,

things, they ſhould be taught to guard againſt the dangers of the climate. Hungary is in itſelf not more unwholeſome than Italy, Spain, the South of France, or any other warm country; only as there are moraſſes all over it, the difference betwixt the heat of the day, and the cold of the night, muſt of courſe be very ſenſible to a German; but he has nothing to do but to imitate the natives, who follow what inſtinct teaches them, and wear a warmer cloathing. The rich Hungary wines, likewiſe, deſtroy many a ſtranger, and they ſuffer ſtill more from the very palatable, but dangerous melons, which are in ſuch plenty that you may have them almoſt for nothing. Where the body is conſtantly weakened by the influences of a very warm ſun, theſe fruits muſt be very prejudicial, and the rather, as it is the cuſtom here to eat them without bread. Againſt all theſe dangers and difficulties the emigrant ſhould be ſecured.

The ſmall ſum of money which is given for the journey, is not ſufficient to obviate theſe inconveniences; on the contrary, the emigrants ſhould have as little ready money as poſſible; as they cannot know how to make a proper uſe of it in a new country, they muſt conſequently either be robbed of it, or waſte it.

What

What they ought to be ſupplied with is wood for building, cattle, and corn; and it ſhould be the peculiar duty of the civil and religious miniſters of the ſtate, to aſſiſt them in their civil and religious neceſſities. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the prieſts and governors of Hungary, are not the people fit for this buſineſs; for if the court was to be at this expence, they would take care to be themſelves the greateſt gainers by it; but the court has hitherto manifeſted too ſmall a deſire for the cultivation of Hungary, to beſtow much expence upon it; its principle has been to reap all it could, without ſowing any thing. If it had not been for this, what has been ſpent upon the conqueſt of a very ſmall part of Bavaria, would have brought in ten times more, in a much ſhorter time, by laying it properly out on the cultivation of Hungary.

The greateſt ſource of confidence for a Hungarian patriot is, that his preſent king feels the connection betwixt his own intereſt and that of the ſtate. That he knows how to value liberty, and mankind; is blinded by no prejudice, will not ſuffer his hands to be bound by any adherence to old cuſtoms, and has ſtrength and reſolution enough to attempt the Herculean labour of civilizing this important part of his hereditary dominions.

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

Vienna.

I TOLD you in my laſt, that the great Hungarian nobility live entirely according to our *ton*. Our faſhions reach to the borders of Moldavia, and Walachia, and, from Preſburg to Cronſtadt, all that is called the fine world ſpeaks our *patois*. Formerly they uſed their own language, at leaſt to expreſs common things, but every body now gives *dinès*, *ſoupès*, and *dejeunès*. There are balls *parè* and balls *maſqué*; every town with four or five houſes in it, has its *aſſemblèes*, and *redoutes*. The men play whiſt, and the women wear *poudre á la Marechale*, and have vapours. The bookſellers ſell Voltaire in ſecret, and the apothecaries ſell Mercury openly. The men have an *ami de la maiſon* for their wives, and the wives a *fille de chambre* for their huſbands. They have men cooks, and maitre d'hotels; they have ballets, comedies, and operas, and they have debts upon debts.

In the year 1740, when the Hungarian nobility took the field for their *king* Maria Thereſa, the firſt ſight of ſuch troops ſtruck the French

French army with a panic. They had, indeed, often ſeen detachments of theſe *diables d'Hongrie*, as they uſed to call them, but a whole army of them drawn up in battle array—unpowdered, from the general to the common ſoldier—half their faces covered with long whiſkers—a ſort of round beaver upon their heads inſtead of hats — without ruffles, or frills to their ſhirts, and without feathers—all clad in rough ſkins—monſtrous crooked ſabres ready drawn and uplifted—their eyes darting flaſhes of rage ſharper than the beams of the naked ſabres—was a ſight our men had not been accuſtomed to ſee. Our oldeſt officers ſtill remember the impreſſion theſe terrible troops made, and how difficult it was to make the men ſtand againſt them, till they had been accuſtomed to their formidable appearance.

All this is now at an end, the Hungarian nobleman begins to leave off his long beard, and dreſſes much after the French faſhion.

It is remarkable enough, that whilſt in imitation of the Hungarian ſoldier, the Huſſar has become an eſſential part of the Pruſſian army, and has alſo been received into the French regular troops, the true original is loſt in his own country. Not one of the fourteen or fifteen regiments

regiments of Huſſars in the emperor's ſervice is made up entirely of Hungarians. Experienced officers have, it ſeems, thought ſuch regiments could no longer be of any ſervice; it may be ſo, but it is certain that the Hungarian has entirely loſt his ſpirit by diſcipline, for, like other wild men, he deteſts the artificial arms againſt which his ſtrength and courage are of no avail, and if ever he ſhews himſelf in his native fierceneſs, it is only when the firing is over, and he comes to cloſe engagement. Here indeed the hero ſometimes ſtarts out again. But this was not enough to make the Hungarians a match for the Pruſſian Huſſars in the Sileſian war; on the contrary, they always proved inferior to them.—After all, however, if this laſt change had not been made, it is certain that the preſent nobility of Hungary could not bring into the field, and maintain ſuch armies as were raiſed in 1740.

The Eſterhazy, whoſe eſtate amounts to above 600,000 guilders a year. The Paleſy, Schaki, Erdoby, Sichy, Forgatſh, Kohari, Karoly, &c. and many others, who have from 100,000 to 200,000 guilders a year, are unable, notwithſtanding theſe large eſtates, to live within their incomes. The expences they have

been put to, by the political alteration of manners of the laſt forty years, have reduced them to neceſſitous dependance. The court, however, does not look upon even this weakneſs as a ſufficient ſecurity. The Hungarian regiments of infantry, amongſt which there are likewiſe many Germans, and ſeveral regiments of Huſſars, are conſtantly quartered in Bohemia, Moravia, and the German cities; on the contrary, ſeveral of the German regiments, particularly the heavy horſe, and the dragoons, are quartered in Hungary. There is no province in the hereditary dominions of Auſtria, which has ſo many troops in it as Hungary has, in proportion to its population and exports. This may in ſome degree be owing to the cheapneſs of proviſion for man and horſe. If it be ſo, in caſe of a war breaking out, on the confines of Germany, the court loſes in a few weeks, what it has been ſaving by this policy for many years; for the forced marches which the cavalry are obliged to make to their places of deſtination, generally kill half the horſes before they have got there. For my own part I have little doubt, but that the true motive of this allotment of troops are to make the Hungarians acquainted with the other members

members of the empire; to extinguiſh their natural ſpirit by the ſight of numerous armies in every part of their country; to accuſtom them to ſubordination; and in ſome degree, perhaps, to increaſe the conſumption of the country, and ſo promote the circulation of coin.

The Engliſh proceed upon a quite different plan; their principle is, to keep up as much as poſſible the national ſpirit of the troops, from an idea that the intereſts of the government are the ſame as thoſe of the people, and that they have nothing to fear from a mutiny. Upon this ground it is, that their patriots have taken up a notion, which no doubt will ſoon be realized, of making every regiment provincial, by quartering it conſtantly in the county whoſe name it bears, and by ſuffering no man to be enliſted in it but thoſe of that county; whence they think, a ſtill greater degree of attachment to the native place will be produced. The Imperial council of war would not be pleaſed with a project of this kind. It conſiders it as a ſtated maxim of policy, to ſend the ſoldier as far as may be from the place of his birth, and to compoſe the regiments of men taken from various countries. Thus different cauſes have different effects, and John Bull, and Squire South, ſtill act upon different grounds.

None of the Auſtrian hereditary dominions have a national militia, excepting only the Bannat troops, or Illyrians; but theſe are only half ſoldiers, and their officers are at leaſt for the moſt part Germans or Hungarians. In time of war, every Hungarian nobleman, in proportion to his eſtate, either raiſes a number of men, or ſends the money for them to the war-department. Theſe recruits ſeldom form ſeparate bodies, but are incorporated with the reſt of the army. Above all, care is taken that the ſoldiers ſhould be free from all other ties, and only animated by the ſoul of the army, the wonder-working ſtick.

You muſt not however conceive this *Palladium* of the Auſtrian army, this wonder-working ſtick, as the abſolute *ſine quo non*. A few years ſince, indeed, it ruled the great machine altogether; but now that has been brought into regular movements, it is only looked up to with reverential awe and ſubmiſſion. According to a proclamation of the humane Emperor, the officers are to make as little *phyſical* uſe of it as poſſible. But as to *moral* purpoſes, it is in all its glory, and its idea takes place, in the common ſoldier, of all love of his country, all good humour, all ſenſe of honour all hope of advancement, and every other feeling.

All

All his occupations bring him back to this idea, and from his A, B, C, to his logic, all he knows is compriſed in the two little words, *thou muſt.*

There cannot be a doubt, but in obedience, and ſtrong ſubordination, the principal ſtrength of an army conſiſts; but is it impoſſible to unite them with any idea of feeling for ſelf, in the ſubaltern and underling? Are ſentiments of perſonal honour, of bravery, and of patriotiſm, entirely prejudicial to an army? Certainly not: and were it only to meliorate the condition of the poor ſoldier, were it only to make his hard fate leſs ſevere, it ſhould be the policy of princes to promote thoſe feelings which can ſweeten ſo many bitter hours, and alone enable them to meet death.

With the power which Auſtria now poſſeſſes, it might at one ſtroke cut off all the privileges of the Hungarian nobles, which are contrary to the good of the whole, and which it has been ſo many years endeavouring to undermine. A few hundred families would murmur for a few years, but the thing would not go beyond murmurs; the inhabitants of towns, and the peaſants, would ſtand up for the intereſts of the court, which are their own. The religious animoſities, which formerly ſerved as a pretence

for an inſurrection, no longer blinds the people to their real good; and open, liberal treatment, would ſoon win over the nobility, whom the artifices now in uſe only alienate and corrupt. If once that part of their privileges, which militate againſt the good of the whole, were well defined, and ſuppreſſed by one ſingle act of authority, they would then become ſuſceptible of patriotic virtues; whereas, at preſent, they look upon the government as hoſtile to them, and do nothing but what they are compelled to by power or bribes. In that caſe, the multitude of the nation would not be the moſt abject ſlaves, nor the great the moſt cruel deſpots that are known. If, beſides this, the court was to ſpend the ſums neceſſary on eſtabliſhments for education, and the prieſts of the ſeveral religions would endeavour to eſtabliſh them without perſecution, or partiality, in the next century, Hungary would be one of the moſt flouriſhing countries in Europe. The Hungarian would no longer be poor, in the middle of a country abounding with every neceſſary of life. The poverty of the people, and the exceſſive riches of the nobility, would no longer offend the eyes of the humane by the ſhocking diſproportion between them. Then the court alſo would no longer object to the raiſing

raiſing provincial regiments, as it would be conſiſtent with its intereſts. The lively Croat, or Hungarian, animated by the love of his country, and a ſenſe of duty, would no longer refuſe to ſubmit to proper diſcipline; all the army would be inſpired with a ſpirit, which diſcipline alone cannot give, but which united to diſcipline, is the ſtrongeſt ſecurity for terror abroad, and happineſs at home.

The Hungarians, in general, are extremely proper for a military life; they want nothing to be perfect ſoldiers, but the kind of education which a good government might give them. The Croats particularly have all the requiſites for ſervice. Their mean height is ſix feet; they are bony, fleſhy, quick, and lively, and can bear the extremes of cold and hunger. In a word, there are no better made men in Europe, notwithſtanding which, they are the moſt miſerable part of the Imperial army; a ſure ſign that government either neglects them, or does not know how to dicipline them properly. Sometimes it has been propoſed to incorporate them with other corps, but this would only be to take away their natural advantages, and furniſh them with artificial ones in their ſtead. Such a change would put an end to their uſual way of life, to which they are indebted for

their hardineſs. They commonly dwell ſix or ſeven families under the ſame roof. As their frugality enables them to bring up many children, they marry early, in the vigour of their youth, and their children are the produce of their unimpaired manhood. Their juices are ſtill uncorrupt, and the deſtructive diſtempers which poiſon the ſources of life, are not yet introduced amongſt them. The patriarchal government ſtill ſubſiſts amongſt them, and the grandfather, who has grown old amidſt his children and grandchildren, ſtill retains an authority over them. As by this means their manners are preſerved uncorrupt, nothing more is requiſite than to humanize their prieſts; this would render them uſeful ſubjects to the ſtate, without commerce, manufactures, or arts, which the court has lately endeavoured to introduce amongſt them, in my opinion not to their advantage. An education more ſuitable to the nature of their country, and their peculiar conſtitution, would by degrees deprive them of their natural ferocity, and they would become the more tractable, in proportion as they acquired better notions of religion, agriculture, and the other things connected with their well being. Their ferocity, the natural conſequence of their barbarity, is the true reaſon why they

are ſo averſe to diſcipline, and the only way of getting the better of this, and making them like the other ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria, fit for military ſervice, is domeſtic education: this alone can bring them out of their barbarity, without depriving them of their other advantages.

Suppoſe the new court was to adopt the other plan, and incorporate them with the other troops, ſuppoſe it was to make ſlaves of them in the beſt years of their lives, and when the voice of nature crieth moſt loud, what would be the conſequence? Accuſtomed to all the vices which obtain in a ſtanding army, they would conſume the vigour of their lives in pernicious indulgencies; they would return to their native country corrupted with a variety of wants they did not know before. Having acquired a taſte for the pleaſures of forbidden love, they would either not marry at all, or marry later than their anceſtors; all their domeſtic ordinances would be aboliſhed, nor would their wives be any longer diſtinguiſhed for their chaſtity. Their children would imitate them in their vices, and the conſequence of all would be, that in the ſecond generation you would hardly be able to diſtinguiſh them; and in the third, or at moſt, the fourth, not know them at all from the other ſubjects of the

the empire, ſo totally would they have loſt the ſize, ſtrength, frugality, and fine form, which now ſo eminently diſtinguiſh them. To attempt the change propoſed, would be taking a dangerous leap from barbarous to civil life, and all that could be expected from it would be a broken limb, if not a broken neck.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIII.

Vienna.

I HAVE given myſelf all the trouble poſſible to come at an exact eſtimate of the goods annually exported from, and imported into Hungary, and by that means to acquire a tolerable idea of the national riches; but the receipts of the cuſtoms, the only ones by which you can form a good judgment, are either ſo imperfectly or ſo ſecretly kept, that there is no depending upon them. All I can therefore ſay upon the ſubject muſt conſiſt of report and conjecture.—I was aſſured then by a creditable man, that the exports amounted to twenty-four, and the imports to eighteen millions a year, making a balance of ſix millions in favour of the country. With reſpect to the exports, I can ſay nothing upon them with certainty, for the reaſon I have juſt given; they are, indeed, greater than I could have imagined, even from the poſitive calculations I have been able to make; but if we compare the exports and imports, we ſhall find it is impoſſible but that the former ſhould be ſtated too high; for with

ſuch a balance of trade as Hungary muſt by this means have, it ought to be one of the richeſt countries in Europe, whereas nothing is ſcarcer than money in this country. Of the twenty millions of revenue which Hungary, together with Tranſylvania and Illyria contributes to the ſtate, three at the moſt comes to Vienna, and the ſums which the few noble families that reſide out of it carry from the country, are replaced by what foreigners in employment ſpend in it; many millions therefore muſt remain in Hungary, and if to theſe are added, ſuch a balance of trade as I have ſtated, ſuppoſing it only to have continued five years, the country muſt be much richer than it is.

If we conſider a little the variety of commodities which Hungary muſt import from abroad, it is impoſſible it ſhould have even an equal trade; it is obliged to purchaſe almoſt all the productions of art, beſides an aſtoniſhing number of thoſe of nature. Clothes alone coſt four or five millions of florins per annum; wrought ſilks, linens and cottons as much more; coffee and ſugar muſt at leaſt come to two millions and a half; tin, glaſs, colours, and drugs, muſt coſt them annually many millions. In this eſtimate we do not take in toys of every kind; foreign wines for the liquoriſh palates of the great men,

who

who cannot be contented with the admirable produce of their own vineyards; foreign horſes, coaches, harneſſes, and a great many other foreign articles. The quantity of the natural productions, which Hungary, on the other hand, gives the ſtranger, cannot come up to any thing like the ſums theſe articles muſt coſt. According to a rough calculation I have made, Hungary exports the value of about five millions and a half of oxen, ſwine and horſes, four millions of corn, hay, &c. three millions of wine, half a million's worth of tobacco, ſilk (moſtly from Sclavonia), citrons, cheſnuts, and other fruits; and ſome millions of minerals, eſpecially copper; ſo that if I ſet the exports at ſixteen, and the imports at eighteen millions, it will be much nearer the truth.

I do not think I do Hungary any injuſtice by thus ſtating its expences at two millions; its ſituation, and the nature of its government, prevent it from making all the uſe poſſible of the rich treaſures it poſſeſſes; and the high degree of luxury which obtains in all orders prevents its owing to its own induſtry ſeveral articles which it procures from the ſtranger, though it might prepare them itſelf. Having juſt told you the great ſums annually paid for clothes, it will perhaps aſtoniſh you to hear, that there is

no

no country in Europe fitter for breeding ſheep than this is. Prince Eugene, who was as great a judge of political improvements as he was a general, perceived this, and having procured ſheep from Arabia, gave himſelf all the trouble poſſible to propagate the breed in the country of Ofen. The Emperors Charles, and Francis, made many wiſe regulations for the ſame purpoſe; but hitherto it has been unſucceſsful. The nobility, who poſſeſs almoſt all the lands, are too proud and fooliſh to attend to agriculture; the farmers have no property, and the inhabitants of the towns are depreſſed by religious perſecutions.

The negligence of the police in not ſtemming the torrent of luxury is inconceivable. I have often been tempted to believe, that government did not think it worth its while to attend to the circumſtances of this country, either becauſe it did not yield in proportion to its greatneſs, or that the impetuous temper of the court was ſuch, as not to allow of any eſtabliſhments that were to produce fruit in after ages: be this as it may, whether the court is all for preſent enjoyment, or has not political wiſdom enough to erect for futurity, the inſtances of its neglect are moſt glaring. I will lay one of them before you: Notwithſtanding the extreme poverty of the country,

country, they allow the Jews to go about with coffee, ſugar, tobacco, oil, and quack medicines of all kinds, from village to village, where they ſell them in ſmall quantities, and much adulterated.

The climate of the ſouthern part of Hungary is extremely favourable to the growth of ſilk; but except in Sclavonia, which is not improved as it ought to be, there grows none, notwithſtanding the example of their neighbours the Venetians, and the facility of procuring mulberry trees from Italy. The only art which is carried to any degree of improvement is that of mining. Here all that mathematics could do has been adopted. You would be aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the machines in uſe to clear the water from the pits, and to carry on the other neceſſary operations. The gold and ſilver mines of Cremnitz and Shemnitz produce but little to the crown, owing to its keeping part of them in its own hands, and not farming the whole. There are other gold and ſilver mines in the country, but thoſe of Tranſylvania excel them all at preſent, and promiſe to do ſtill more ſo in future. I believe, however, that the court gets much more by the copper than it does by the gold and ſilver mines, eſpecially ſince the cuſtom of ſheathing the men of war with copper

per has prevailed. Hungary is able to furniſh all Europe with copper; upon the whole, half of the four millions of florins which the country gets by its mines comes from Hungary.

The country has an extraordinary appearance; it is incloſed on all ſides with high hills, in the midſt of which are plains, which you may travel through for ſome days without perceiving the leaſt elevation. You meet with immenſe deſerts, in the midſt of which, as in thoſe of Tartary, are wild horſes. The woods are filled with wolves, an animal ſcarce ever ſeen in Suabia, Bavaria, or Auſtria. Near the banks of rivers, in the plains, there are moraſſes, which here and there form lakes; the drying up of theſe will be a great advantage to the country, by making its rivers navigable, adding great quantities of land to it, and purifying the air. The beaſts are all very different from thoſe of Germany; the horſes are ſmall, light, and not handſome, but uncommonly lively and ſtrong; a Hungarian uſes only three or four in going from Vienna to Turkey, in a conſtant trot or gallop; their breed has been greatly improved in the ſtuds of the nobility, in ſeveral parts of the country. The oxen are the largeſt and moſt beauteous I have ever ſeen; they are all aſh-colour, or white, and I do not recollect to have

have ſeen a red or brown one in the whole country; their fleſh is remarkably well taſted; even the poultry, are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other countries by their ſize and ſhape: In ſhort, all that has breath here, atteſts, either by its growth or its agility, the wonderful vigour of nature.

The artificial appearance of the country is as remarkable as the natural. In one place, perhaps, you ſee palaces upon which art has exhauſted all its magnificence, and within a few paces you come to countries where men dwell in caverns under ground like the wild beaſts. At Preſburg, Port, and Offen, which are the largeſt cities in the country, and each of which contains 30,000 men, you believe yourſelf in the moſt enchanting country in the world; and within a few miles of their gates, you ſeem to be in Mingrelia.

The ſtrongeſt proof poſſible, that the country is miſerable, is the contraſt of extreme poverty with extreme riches, and the more ſtriking that contraſt is the greater is the miſery. A people may be very poor, and yet very happy; but when amidſt ſtraw huts, which hardly protect their inhabitants from wind and weather, you ſee marble palaces towering to the clouds, when in the midſt of immenſe wilderneſſes tenanted by miſerable ſkeletons, who hardly find

roots in the fields to keep body and ſoul together, you meet with gardens with fountains in them, grottos, parterres, terraſſes, ſtatues, and coſtly pictures; it is a ſure ſign that one part of the inhabitants live by pillaging the reſt.

Not long after my arrival here, I made a party of pleaſure to the caſtle of Count Eſterhazy, which lies at about a day's journey from Preſburg. Without a doubt, you are already acquainted with it from Moore's travels. There is no place in France, Verſailles alone excepted, ſo magnificent as this; the caſtle is immenſely large, and full of every ſumptuous article of expence that can be conceived. The garden contains every thing that human wit has invented for the improvement, or, as you may call it, the perverſion of nature. The pavilions of all kinds appear like the habitations of ſo many fairies, and every thing is ſo much above what you meet with in general, that you think you are dreaming when you behold it. I ſhall not attempt to give you an exact deſcription of what I ſaw here, but muſt, however, obſerve, that to the eyes of one, who does not profeſs himſelf a connoiſſeur, there appeared to be ſomewhat too much. I recollect, that the walls of a *Sala-Terrina* were painted with figures twelve feet high, which to a ſon of the earth, as I am, ap-

peared much too lofty for the ſize of the room. I know how much you are for the great ſtyle, and remember all you uſed to din into my profane ears about the fine forms of the Roman ſchool, but yet, I think if you had been here, you would have thought this rather too great a ſtyle.

What renders the magnificence of this place ſtill more ſtriking, is the very extraordinary contraſt of it with the country round. The lake of *Neuſiedler*, which is not far from the caſtle, forms a large moraſs, which extends for the ſpace of ſeveral miles, and threatens in time to lay the great edifice under water, as it has already done great part of the country, which was formerly very productive. The inhabitants of the country round have the appearance of ſo many ghoſts, and are regularly plagued with agues every year. About half the money which the prince has laid out in beautifying his caſtle, would not only have been ſufficient to drain the fens, but would have taken as much land again from the lake. As this is ever upon the encreaſe, there is great reaſon to fear it will entirely overflow the low country: the only way to prevent this, will be by making a canal to communicate with the Danube, an enterprize which would do the prince more

honour than all the trifles he has been about. Within leſs than a day's journey from the caſtle, on the other ſide, you will meet the Kalmucks, Cherokees, Hottentots, and inhabitants of *Terra del Fuego*, in all their ſeveral occupations and ſituations.

Unwholeſome as the country is, particularly in ſpring and winter, and though the prince himſelf has the ague very often, yet is he thoroughly ſatisfied, that there is not a finer, or more wholeſome ſpot under the ſun. His caſtle ſtands quite alone, and he ſees nobody but dependants, or ſtrangers who come for the purpoſe of admiration. The prince has a puppet-ſhew theatre, which is really extraordinary in its kind, for the puppets perform whole operas. You really do not know whether you ſhould wonder or laugh moſt, when you ſee the *Didone*, the *Alceſte al Bivio*, played throughout by puppets. The prince's orcheſtra is one of the beſt I have yet heard. The great Haydn is his compoſitor; and he has got a poet, who is often very fortunate. The ſcene-painters too are diſtinguiſhed men; in a word, the thing itſelf is little, but all the appendages are very great. The prince often hires a company of ſtrolling players, and keeps them for a month to play to him, and his ſervants compoſe all the audience.

Theſe

Theſe gentlemen appear upon the ſtage with their hair about their ears, and the dreſſes it pleaſes ſporting fortune to furniſh them with at the time; but it all does very well, for the prince is not fond of grand tragic movements, but on the contrary, delights in any extempore pieces of wit, which theſe gentlemen may ſtrike out, or which may be ſtruck out for them. This prince has alſo a body-guard, compoſed of very fine men. I was very ſorry that I could not ſee the famous Haydn, who was gone to Vienna to conduct a large concert. It is ſaid, the prince has given him permiſſion to make a journey to England, France, and Spain, where he will be received as his merits deſerve, and get enough to come home with his purſe well filled. He has a brother, who is *Maeſtro di Capella* at Straſburg, a man of as much genius as Haydn himſelf, but who has not induſtry enough to arrive at the ſame degree of reputation.

LETTER XXXIV.

Vienna.

I SHOULD not have ſaid ſo much of Hungary, had I not recollected, that you conſider it as an unknown country. What I have to ſay of the other parts of the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria will be ſo much the ſhorter.

Auſtria, properly ſo called, has throughout the appearance of a happy country; here are no ſigns of the ſtriking contraſt betwixt poverty and riches, which offends ſo much in Hungary. All the inhabitants, thoſe of the capital only excepted, enjoy that happy mediocrity, which is the conſequence of a gentle and wiſe adminiſtration. The farmer has property; and the rights of the nobility, who enjoy a kind of lower judicial power, are well defined. The ſouth and ſouth-weſt parts of the country are bounded by a ridge of hills, the inhabitants of which enjoy a ſhare of proſperity, unknown to thoſe of the interior parts of France. I ſaw ſeveral villages on the banks of the Danube, whoſe inhabitants dwelt in ſtone houſes. A ſure ſign of

of their well-being, is their eating meat almoſt every day, and roaſt meat once or twice a week. There are many villages and market towns, the inhabitants of which have bought themſelves off from vaſſalage, are now their own governors, and belong ſome of them to the eſtates of the country; amongſt theſe is the beautiful town of Stockeraw, about which is one of the prettieſt countries I have yet ſeen. The cloyſters, the prelates of which belong to the eſtates of the country, are the richeſt in Germany, after the immediate *prelacies* and *abbacies* of the empire.

The cloyſters are ſome of the richeſt in Germany. One of the great convents of Benedictines is worth upwards of four thouſand millions of French livres, half of which goes to the exchequer of the country. A monk of this cloyſter, with whom I was converſing on the ſtate of religion, endeavoured to convince me of its decreaſe ſince the reign of Charles VI. by telling me, that in thoſe times they paid only five or ſix thouſand florins to the ſtate, whereas now they pay near ten times as much. There are no great hopes that this thermometer will ſtand ſtill under the preſent emperor; on the contrary, it is rather to be feared that it will fall to nothing; Kloſterneuburg, Polten, Gottevaich,

and ſome other prelacies, are as warm as that I have juſt mentioned.

Lower Auſtria yearly exports more than two millions worth of guilders of wine to Moravia, Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, Bavaria, Saltzburg, and part of Styria and Carinthia. This wine is ſour, but has a great deal of ſtrength, and may be carried all over the world without danger; when it is ten or twenty years old it is very good. Notwithſtanding this, however, all this trade would be knocked up at a blow, if the exportation of the Hungary wines was not reſtrained by ſevere prohibitions.

Theſe limitations, of which I have ſaid ſomething to you in a former letter, make part of a plan, which was probably originally deviſed by the prieſts, and which the nobles have helped them to make perfect. It is an ancient law, that the peaſant ſhall introduce no alterations on his eſtate. He is not allowed to root up his vines and turn his land to tillage or paſture. There is no doubt, but this extraordinary law took its riſe from the tithes paid to the clergy; as theſe were always to be paid in kind, they of courſe oppoſed every degree of alteration. Were the law now to be altered, many eſtates would certainly loſe a great deal by it, but others would be increaſed in proportion; for inſtance, a great number

number of the ſaffron fields, the cultivation of which is always troubleſome and expenſive, would be turned to other and better purpoſes. Even in Krems, where the beſt ſaffron grows, the inhabitants complain exceedingly of being obliged to cultivate this commodity. There are likewiſe ſeveral other articles, ſuch as flax, hemp, tobacco, and the like, which the farmer might grow were it not for this prohibition, which alſo prevents him from taking the advantage of the markets, and varying the produce of his land in proportion as the value of the things changes. With regard to agriculture itſelf, every ſpecies of prohibition is detrimental; all that the legiſlature has to do is to remove natural obſtacles; when this is done nature will do the reſt of herſelf. This country is very well peopled. Mr. Schloſſer, in his political journal, which contains an account of the population of Auſtria, eſtimates that of this country at 2,100,000 men. For my part, I conſider this eſtimate as much too large; but the fact is, that partly from the ignorance, and partly from the pride of people here, who love to ſwell and magnify every thing that belongs to the country, it is extremely difficult to get at the truth. A ſtranger, however, who has been here ſome time, and has ſtudied whatever belongs to the coun-

try

try very accurately, assured me that the population of Upper and Under Austria together did not amount to more than 1,800,000 men. If you include the inhabitants of the capital in the number, still this will be a very considerable population.

The revenue of this country is about 14,000,000 of florins, of which the city of Vienna contributes above five, as one man in the capital earns as much as three in the country.

The southern parts of Austria are covered with hills, which rise gradually from the banks of the Danube to the borders of Stiria, and are covered with woods. They lose themselves in the mass of mountains which run to the south of Germany, and stretch through all Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Tyrol, to the Swiss Alps, and are probably after Savoy and Switzerland, the highest part of the earth.

The inhabitants of this extensive ridge of mountains are all very much alike, they are a strong, large, and, the *goitres* excepted, a very handsome people. The people of Tyrol, whom I visited in an excursion from Munich, distinguish themselves by their diligence. Some drive a trade with figures made of stucco as far as Holland; others make works in stone and wood for the churches; another part of them travel through

through Germany with Italian wares and fruits, and bring home a large quantity of money. A fourth ſet deals in quack drugs, ſalves, wonder-working pills, eſſences, tinctures, &c.

Notwithſtanding its woods and the hills covered with ſnow, Tyrol is well inhabited and well peopled. It contains about ſix hundred thouſand ſouls, and pays the ſtate about three millions of florins. The ſilver and copper works at Schwaſs are one of the moſt profitable things in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, and the ſalt works at Halle yield annually about three hundred thouſand florins.

Inſpruck is a fine city, containing fourteen thouſand inhabitants. Boſſen is the moſt conderable after this. They had formerly very fine fairs, but theſe have been entirely ruined by the cuſtoms; all Tyrol complains of, and curſes the cuſtoms.

The Carinthians excel the other inhabitants of theſe mountains in ſtrength and ſize. They are like their horſes, which are reckoned the ſtrongeſt in Europe, and never tire. Their bread is made of maize; and their land produces the beſt ſteel known, which the Engliſh uſe for their fineſt works. The population conſiſts of four hundred thouſand ſouls. The inhabitants of Carinthia, Gortz, and the Auſtrian Iſtria, may be ſet

at

at five hundred thouſand. Stiria contains about ſeventy thouſand inhabitants. Gratz, the capital, is a fine city; there are perſons in it who have from thirty to forty thouſand florins income, and the luxury that prevails is not to be deſcribed. They have four regular meals, viz. at morning, noon, evening, and night. Ducks and chickens are the ordinary food of the common citizens. They made me almoſt ſick only with the ſight of their paſties, tarts, ragouts, &c. They talk of nothing but the kitchen and the cellar; and, their attention to the preparation of their dinners only excepted, do not ſeem many degrees above orang-outangs. The other luxuries are in proportion. This is the great mart for all indecent and irreligious books. Hence they are exported into the reſt of the country. You find villages in Tyrol entirely inhabited by ſtatuaries; they will, however, always be more famous for their capons than their learning. You may have a capon here for twenty creutzers, a pair of fine chickens for ten or twelve, a bottle of very good wine for twelve, and a pound of rye bread for one. Gratz and the ſuburbs contain about thirty thouſand inhabitants.

The

The country is cultivated to the top of the higheſt hills. Though paſturage is the principal buſineſs of the people, the land produces corn enough to nouriſh its numerous inhabitants, or if there is ever the leaſt want, they are ſupplied from Hungary almoſt for nothing. The flax and hemp, which have been introduced here, as well as in Carinthia, are extremely good, and produce very large ſums. The mines employ a great number of people, and as they are worked very cheap anſwer extremely well. Indeed the whole of the country is favourable to this kind of buſineſs. The hills are covered with wood, which in general coſts no more than the expence of cutting down and tranſporting to the place where it is to be uſed in the furnaces. Sometimes too it is floated by the rivers without any expence of tranſporting at all. The numerous brooks in the valleys afford opportunities of erecting the furnaces near the pits, ſo that every thing contributes to ſave expence. The beſt mineral of the country is iron, of which they make an excellent ſteel.

The numbers of thoſe who have the *goitre*, and the ſize of it, is more remarkable in Stiria than in Carinthia, Ukrania, or the Tyrol. Some think this diſorder owing in part to the ſnow and

and ice water, and in part to the particles of earth and ſtone with which the wells of the country are impregnated. Others will have it, that it ariſes from the cuſtom of ſeaſoning the meat a great deal, and drinking cold water afterwards. I beg leave to add a fourth cauſe, and leave all to operate together for the production of this phœnomenon. The cauſe I mean is the cold, to which all the inhabitants are expoſed. You know that the ſolar rays, being reflected on all ſides by the hills which encompaſs the valleys, occaſion an extraordinary heat. I recollect, as I have been wandering through narrow valleys, to have breathed an air ſo glowing, that it ſeemed to come from a furnace. Whenever, therefore, there is the leaſt motion in the air, the preſſure will make it more ſenſibly felt than on higher vales or hills, where it can expand more; the cold is conſequently greater. Now as theſe people commonly go with their necks and throats bare, whenever there is a cool current, the weak part of the throat is the firſt attacked by the moiſture, and the perſpiration there is ſtopped.

It is an obſervation which has been made in Valois, Savoy, and other countries, that the inhabitants of the lower vallies are more expoſed to this evil, than thoſe which live higher up.

This,

This, no doubt, muſt be owing to the more frequent changes of air in the low grounds, whereas higher up it always continues cool. There are alſo a kind of ideots in this country, who can hardly ſpeak, and are only fit for the labours of the field. Their number is great, and the neglect with which they are treated, whilſt they are young, may probably have tended to increaſe their ſtupidity.

All the inhabitants of theſe hills are freemen, who have long ſince ſhaken off the feudal yoke, under which the greateſt part of Europe ſtill groans. The marks of their freedom are very viſible, for, ill as this country has been treated by nature, in compariſon with its neighbour Hungary, it is every where much better cultivated, and more populous than the latter. When you ſee the farmer here force his nouriſhment from the almoſt bare rocks, and think of the beautiful plains in Hungary that lay waſte and uncultivated, the value of property and liberty ſtrikes you in its full force. Theſe countries and Auſtria are not half as large as Hungary, and yet they not only yield a much greater revenue than that does, but there is an appearance of eaſy circumſtances throughout, of which the Hungarians have no notion. O that governors

vernors would but ſee how much the intereſt of the governed is united with their own!

The characteriſtic of the inhabitants of all this country is ſtriking bigotry, united with ſtriking ſenſuality. You need only ſee what is going forwards here to be convinced, that the religion taught by the monks, is as ruinous for the morals as it is repugnant to Chriſtianity. The Ciciſbeos accompany the married women from their beds to church, and lead them to the very confeſſional.—The pilgrimage to Mariazell is a ceremony half religious and half profane, with which the ladies of Gratz are highly delighted. Their lovers generally accompany them there; in ſhort, it is to the people of this country, what Bath, and the other water-drinking places, are to the reſt of Europe. A friend of mine had the honour to accompany a lady who went there with her lover. As it was expected that the next day, being the feaſt of the Virgin, there would be great crowds at confeſſion, the lady was aſked, whether it would not be better to expedite matters over night: 'No,' anſwered ſhe, 'for if I do, I ſhall have to confeſs 'again to-morrow morning, before I can go to 'the ſacrament with a pure conſcience.' She was preſſed to anticipate a confeſſion, but this it ſeems would not do. The women of faſhion make

make no more ſcruple of ſpeaking of their lovers in public companies than thoſe of Vienna do. A *cicißbeo* is, it ſeems, as much the faſhion, as Hungary water. The women of this place are not like the French ones, who let their lovers languiſh a great while; on the contrary, they are eaſily gained. Their lovers are chiefly officers, or high churchmen, between which orders, on this account, there is a conſtant rivality and jealouſy.

The bigotry of the public in theſe parts, which, from the mixture of gallantry with it, is ſtill to be found even amongſt people of rank, degenerates amongſt the common people into the groſſeſt and moſt abominable buffoonery. The *Windes*, who are mixed with the Germans in theſe countries, diſtinguiſh themſelves by a ſuperſtitious cuſtom, that does little honour to the human underſtanding, and would be incredible, if we had not the moſt unequivocal proofs of the fact before our eyes. Many years ago, they ſet out, in company with ſome Hungarian enthuſiaſts, to Cologne on the Rhine, which is about one hundred and twenty German miles diſtant, to cut of the beard of a crucifix there. Every ſeven years this operation is repeated, as in this ſpace of time the beard grows again to its former length. The rich perſons of the aſ-

ſociation ſend the poorer ones as their deputies, and the magiſtrates of Cologne receive them as embaſſadors from a foreign prince. They are entertained at the expence of the ſtate, and a counſellor ſhews them the moſt remarkable things in the town. I know not whether we ought to laugh moſt, at the remote town of Cologne, or at thoſe poor peaſants. There is, indeed, ſome excuſe for the former, as the farce brings in large ſums of money at ſtated times, and may therefore deſerve political encouragement, but ſtill, however, it is the moſt miſerable, and meaneſt way of gain that can be imagined. Theſe *Windes* have alone the right to ſhave our Saviour, and the beard grows only for them. They firmly believe, that if they did not do this ſervice to the crucifix, the earth would be ſhut to them for the next ſeven years, and there would be no harveſts. For this reaſon they are obliged to carry the hair home with them, as the proof of having fulfilled their commiſſion, the returns of which are diſtributed amongſt the different communities, and preſerved as holy reliques. The Imperial court has for a long time endeavoured in vain to prevent this emigration, which deprives agriculture of ſo many uſeful hands. When the *Windes* could not go openly, they would go clandeſtinely. At length the court thought

of the expedient of forbidding the regency of Cologne to let them enter the town. This happened ſix years ago, and the numerous embaſſy was obliged, to beg its way back again without the wonderful beard, (which, without doubt, the capuchins, to whom the crucifix belonged, uſed to put together from their own). In future, they will not, moſt probably, run the danger of travelling ſo far for nothing. I do not hear but that, ſince this accident, the corn has come up as well as it did before; but whether the beard is ſtill growing, or not, I cannot ſay.—I could give you ſtill more ſtriking traits of the ſuperſtition of the inhabitants of the inner parts of Auſtria, but as this ſurpaſſes them all, it may ſerve as a ſufficient meaſure of the human underſtanding in theſe parts. The trade which the monks carry on with holy ſalves, oils, &c. is ſtill very conſiderable; a prohibition of the court, lately publiſhed, has rather leſſened it, but it cannot be entirely ſuppreſſed till next generation. It is now carried on ſecretly, but perhaps to nearly as great an amount as formerly.

LETTER XXXV.

Vienna.

AS there were ſome of the provinces of the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria which I did not viſit, you muſt content yourſelf with ſuch accounts of their population and commerce, as I have been able to collect, partly from public papers, and partly from converſations with ſenſible men. In order to give you an idea of their comparative merits, we will firſt caſt our eyes upon the whole. Mr. Schloſſer, whoſe uſeful letters I have already mentioned, and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of hereafter, gives a liſt of the reſpective populations of the Auſtrian monarchy, according to which, the whole amounts to twenty-ſeven millions. I fancy he is now convinced himſelf that his correſpondent ſaw the ſubjects of Auſtria through a magnifying glaſs. As ſeveral parts of this liſt have been amended from better accounts: thus, for inſtance, in Auſtrian Poland and Bukowina, they now reckon only 2,800,000 ſouls; whereas, in the firſt liſts, they were reckoned at 3,900,000.

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The firſt number of theſe *Political Letters* contains another liſt, which ſeems to me to approach much nearer to the truth; for though the population of particular parts may be laid too high, this is made up for, by the omiſſion of the particular provinces of Illyria and Bukowina, which are entirely left out. The following liſt I have, in a great meaſure, from the beſt hands:

Hungary, with the now annexed Temeſwar	364,000,000	ſouls
Illyria	1,400,000	
Tranſylvania	1,000,000	
Auſtrian Poland, together with Bukowina	2,800,000	
Bohemia	2,100,000	
Moravia	1,000,000	
Sileſia	200,000	
Upper and Lower Auſtria, and Styria	700,000	
Carniola, Ukrania, Gorts, and Iſtria	1,000,000	
Farther Auſtria and Falkenſtein	300,000	
Tyrol	600,000	
Netherlands	1,800,000	
Lombardy	1,200,000	
	19,500,000	

I will not inſiſt upon it that this liſt is ſo accurate as to make it a great violation of truth, to give round numbers, and ſtate the whole at twenty millions; but I would not believe in

more than twenty millions, if all the privy counſellors in the empire ſaid it together.

It only requires eyes to ſee, that the territories of Auſtria are not ſo well peopled throughout as France is. The difference in the ſize of the two countries is inconſiderable. How then is it poſſible that Auſtria ſhould be as well peopled as France (which hardly contains twenty-four millions), when the greateſt part of it has no conſiderable manufactures, and, in great part of Hungary and Poland, there are not even hands to do the neceſſary work? Agriculture, in however flouriſhing ſtate it be in a country, does not render it as populous as manufactures do. The ſphere of the former is contracted, that of the latter not. You would fill a large tract of country with the men who inhabit one of our large manufacturing towns. But beſides this, the agriculture of Hungary and Auſtrian Poland, which make above one half of the Imperial dominions, is not nearly ſo good as that of moſt of our provinces. In France the towns are at leaſt as full again of inhabitants as thoſe of the Auſtrian dominions, and yet the country, take it altogether, is well peopled. It is only thoſe parts of the hereditary dominions of Auſtria, that are German, which

which can vie with France in agriculture and population.

Some of the *data* on which the lists which make the population of Auſtria amount to twenty-ſeven millions are founded, are truly ridiculous. For inſtance, Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent will have it, that the Auſtrian Netherlands contain 4,000,000; though the United Netherlands, which are ſo much larger, and moſt uncommonly peopled, do not contain more than 2,500,000 inhabitants. The circumference of all the Auſtrian Netherlands contains, at moſt, 500 German ſquare miles. According to this account, therefore, each ſquare mile would contain 8000 men; and as Luxemburg, and the northern parts of Brabant, are confeſſedly but thinly peopled, the remaining provinces muſt have at leaſt 10,000 ſouls in every ſquare mile; a population, I will venture to ſay, not to be met with in any part of Europe, the environs of London, Naples, and Paris, not excepted. In a journey I made to Holland, I was aſſured, from good information at Bruſſels, that the population of the Auſtrian Netherlands amounted only to 1,800,000 ſouls, and this is a great deal; as even, according to this ſtatement, there will be 3,600 men for every geographical German ſquare mile.

The ſtatement of the income of the houſe of Auſtria, which Mr. Schloſſer gives us, is accurate as far as it goes, but is not quite perfect. He does not reckon Illyria, Lombardy, and the Netherlands; and the exports from Hungary and Tranſylvania are put rather under the mark. I fancy the following will turn out a pretty accurate account:

Bannat - - - -	1,500,000	Imperial
Tranſylvania - - -	3,000,000	
Illyria - - - -	2,000,000	
Poland, together with Bukowina	1,200,000	
Bohemia - - - -	11,600,000	
Moravia - - -	400,000	
Sileſia - - - - -	700,000	
All the circles of Auſtria -	22,700,000	
Netherlands - - -	7,000,000	
Lombardy - - -	4,000,000	
	82,000,000	

Theſe 82,000,000 of Imperial guilders make about 98,400,000 Rheniſh guilders, or about 215,000,000 of French livres; which is about 145,000,000 livres leſs than the income of our court (the colonies not included), and about as much as the revenue of Great Britain. When we conſider that France contains about 4,000,000 more inhabitants than Auſtria does, that its commerce is much more flouriſhing, and

and that Hungary and Illyria yield ſo little, in proportion to their ſize, the proportion of the produce of the two countries will be thought pretty near the truth.

The account of the expenditures, which Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent has ſubjoined to his account of the revenue, is notoriouſly falſe. The expences of the army are laid at 17,000,000 of guilders; but though, in proportion to the ſtrength of the two countries, the army of this court coſts a third leſs than ours does, the Emperor's military expences, including the large magazines, and recruiting money, come to 28,000,000 a year. Some perſons of credit make the ſum ſtill larger. Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent ſtates the penſions only at a million; but it is eaſy to ſee, that as much again may be given in penſions, and yet none of thoſe who muſt neceſſarily ſubſiſt by the bounty of the court be much richer. Beſides all this, the account of the expenditure muſt be falſe; for Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent has made it agree with the revenue, which he has ſtated at 27,000,000 guilders leſs than it really is.

I recollect to have read, in a ſpeech, ſpoken in parliament by an Engliſh miniſter, who wanted to ſhew the rank his country held in the ſyſtem, a comparative ſtate of the revenues of the

the ſeveral great powers in Europe. He eſtimated the revenue of France at twelve, that of Great Britain at nine, that of Ruſſia at ſeven, and that of Auſtria at ſix millions ſterling. This is ſilly enough; but it is not as abſurd as what is ſaid by Linguet, who, in his annals of Europe, ventures to entertain a doubt, whether Auſtria has power enough to ſecure the weſt of Europe from the danger of a Turkiſh invaſion; and therefore graciouſly adviſes the other European powers to help this houſe to a ſlice of Germany or Turkey, in order to enable it to meaſure ſpears with the Turk. Auſtria is ſtill, without doubt, the ſecond power of Europe. The revenue of Ruſſia conſiſts of 32,000,000 of rubles, which, according to the preſent value of the ruble, does not amount to more than 64,000,000 of Imperial guilders. No doubt but Ruſſia may do aſtoniſhing things with its income at home, where the firſt neceſſaries of life are all ſo cheap; but it has not nearly the number of reſources, to carry on operations out of its own borders, as this court has. The times of Leopold and Charles VI. have long been gone by. Within this laſt twenty years, a change has taken place in the adminiſtration of the Imperial finances, which will aſtoniſh the world, as ſoon as this court has an opportunity of ſhewing

ſhewing its power. I do not believe it wants as much time as Ruſſia wanted, when it began the laſt war, to be a full match for the Turks. As the revenue of Great Britain was nearly equal to that of this country, previous to the breaking out of this war, but has been a little leſſened by the loſs of America, Auſtria has no rival to fear, even at preſent, but France; but the former is a riſing power, and in fifty years time, the two crowns will be nearly equally ſtrong. Though it be true, that Ruſſia does contain ſome millions of men more than the Auſtrian monarchy, there are amongſt the former ſeveral Kamtſchatdales, Samoides, and Laplanders, who are of little more political eſtimation than their cattle. Both powers are making haſty ſtrides to greatneſs, and in the next century, will probably play the parts, which France and England played, from the end of the laſt to the middle of this, that is, the quiet and balance of Europe will depend upon them. This court will not ſuffer the Ruſſian to take one ſtep, without taking the ſame, or perhaps two, as was the caſe in the partition of Poland, which I now know for certain, originated in this country. Ruſſia bore all the expence of the Turkiſh, or to ſay better, of the Poliſh war; and

and when matters came to a diviſion, Auſtria gained more than Ruſſia and Pruſſia together. The Auſtrian part of Poland, together with Bukowina, which was taken from the Turks, is not larger than the ſhare which Ruſſia had; but it contains more men, and produces at leaſt half as much again as the Ruſſian and Pruſſian parts put together. According to the beſt accounts, the Ruſſian part contains only 2,100,000, and the Pruſſian 650,000; whereas in the Auſtrian, as I have ſtated them, there are 2,800,000 ſouls. Beſides this larger population, Auſtria has likewiſe the advantage of the very productive ſalt-works of Wielitſka, and the greateſt part of Poland is dependent upon it for this neceſſary of life. The ſtrength of Auſtria is compact; but that of Ruſſia is broken. They talk here of a partition of Turkey, as a thing reſolved on by the two Imperial courts, and even the public papers begin to mention it; but I do not believe it, as it is well known that there was a plan of the ſame kind formed by the two courts in the year 1730. Should there, however, be any thing in it, and ſhould not our court have a power to conjure the ſtorm, this would probably be the laſt treaty of friendſhip between Auſtria and Ruſſia; for as ſoon as the Porte

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ſhall be deſtroyed, and the two Chriſtian empires have their limits on the borders of the Black Sea, they muſt of neceſſity grow jealous of each other, as with reſpect to trade, and other circumſtances, they will be exactly in the ſame ſituation as France and Great Britain were in, with regard to each other.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVI.

Vienna.

BY degrees the Emperor begins to ſhew a little of the plan which he has ſo long kept concealed in his own breaſt. You muſt not expect me to give you a circumſtantial account of the new regulations which have appeared, or will appear in future. I think of leaving this town next week; but you will have quicker, and more complete intelligence from the newſpapers, than I can give you on my travels. Certainly our chaſte French Gazette is not the channel to convey matters of this kind to you; it will, indeed, inform you very circumſtantially, that the Emperor went one day to church, another day a hunting, and a third to the concert; that he let his hand be kiſſed, and what coat, or great coat he wore in one and the other place. You will not hear, by this channel, of the laws relating to toleration, of the abolition of cloiſters, of the diminution of the papal authority; you will not hear that liberty is promiſed to every ſectary to worſhip God in his own way; that Auſtria has become independent of all foreign influence; that monkery

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is no more; that the clergy are become the ſervants of the ſtate: the abolition, too, of feudal tenures; the diminution of the pernicious privileges of the nobles; the reform in the courts of juſtice; greater ſimplicity in all the operations of government; univerſal and rigid œconomy; advancement of philoſophy; extenſion of civil liberty and patriotic feelings; encouragement of merit; all theſe things are attended to by Joſeph, with a zeal and ſteadineſs which will render Auſtria, in a ſhort time, the aſtoniſhment of the world, and one of the moſt flouriſhing and mighty empires in it.

Perhaps you will aſk, what is to become of the arts? Will there alſo be academies of inſcriptions and belles lettres; Arcadian aſſemblies, academies of painting and ſtatuary? Moſt certainly there will. One of the latter is an old inſtitution; and as for the others, there are as many able ſubjects here as at Paris. Here are perſons enough who have time and talents ſufficient to make each other ſenſeleſs compliments in periodical publications; to make parties to raiſe ſome inſipid performance, the author of which has flattered their vanity into repute, and to oppreſs a writer of merit, who has ventured to diſpute their judgment. Nor are there wanting perſons who are capable of giving the moſt

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old faſhioned thought an air of novelty, or publiſhing mutilated tranſlations as their own works. It is, indeed, but eight or ten years ſince moſt of the new pieces which appeared on the French and Engliſh ſtages, were publiſhed here as original compoſitions. Theſe things, therefore, will exiſt; but the Emperor will ſcarcely lay out a penny in this way; he knows better what to do with his money; and it had been well for us, had we applied the money which theſe inſtitutions have coſt us, to any other purpoſe, had it been only that of making canals to carry off the dirt which makes ſuch a ſtink in the choaked up common ſewers, and has already ſuffocated many.

Here, methinks, I ſee you look on me with contempt; for I know you live and move only for the belles lettres, and pity us barbarians, who do not ſacrifice ſo ardently to the divine arts. Well do I remember all the kind things you uſed to ſay of my ſtupidity and coldneſs, or whatever elſe you pleaſed to call it, whenever I happened not to have the feeling you had, on meeting with a good epigram, a lively deſcription, or a fine print or drawing. But, my dear brother, every man ſees things in his own way, and, as in compliance with your leading paſſion, I have taken the trouble to give you a great deal

of

of intelligence about the German theatre and poetry, &c. &c. and promiſe you a great deal more from the northern parts of Germany, you will not take it amiſs, if I ſay ſomething to you in juſtification of my own taſte, and peculiar way of thinking.

Tell me then, my deareſt brother, if it be not a truth which all hiſtory atteſts, that in every nation, the æra of the arts and ſciences has immediately preceded their fall? I will not be at the pains to prove this, by a long deduction of events, from the hiſtory of Greece to this time. You may recollect the excellent note of a Tyroleſe monk, upon a paſſage in Columella, publiſhed by the author of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*. It contains the ſtrongeſt evidence which hiſtory can give, that a country in which thoſe arts which contribute chiefly to amuſement, are held in high eſtimation, and are the moſt ſucceſsful way of gaining honour and fortune, is a country verging faſt to ruin. You will ſay, that the fault is not in the arts and ſciences themſelves. Right; but when they get a certain ſuperiority in a nation, over the other employments of the mind, they muſt draw deſtructive conſequences after them. Frivolity, weakneſs, profuſion, neglect of more laborious purſuits and occupations, oſtentation, wrong judgment

in chooſing the ſervants of the ſtate, a warm and immoderate deſire of ornaments, &c. are neceſſary conſequences of all theſe elegancies, when they are carried to that abuſe which borders ſo near on the good uſe of them. And what do they contribute to the real happineſs of men? Are they any thing more than a ſplendid dream? How ſhort, too, has this æra been with all nations? After the generation of wits, generally there has ſucceeded a totally illiterate *horde*, who have wakened thoſe the arts had put to ſleep with blows, and laid them in chains before they had well rubbed their eyes. How long is it ſince the days of Corneille and Racine? And we are already exhauſted! Poor nation!

Not that I altogether refuſe my approbation to works of genius, or would leave them quite unrewarded. I only wiſh that an exceſſive liberality ſhall not confound merit and demerits, and encourage that contagious ſpread of *virtü* and *bel eſprit*, which, if not guarded againſt, ſoon infects a whole nation, and deſtroys the balance that ſhould ever ſubſiſt between the *uſeful* and agreeable. I am convinced the Emperor will not refuſe to do juſtice to the poet, the painter, and every artiſt of real merit, nor leave them unrewarded. But the application of philoſophy

philoſophy to the improvement of government; but thoſe branches of mathematics and phyſics, which are connected with civil induſtry;—but thoſe arts and ſciences, in ſhort, which contribute to the laſting happineſs of the country, have ſtill more to expect from him. And can you take this ill of him? His court will hardly reſemble that of an Auguſtus, who could give a penſion of 4000 louis d'ors to a poet, whilſt he owed his old ſoldiers their pay. Certainly not. But Auſtria is advancing apace to the happy times of Henry IV. the times in which a nation begins to feel itſelf; when the foundation of national riches are laid; when civil liberty and peace are ſecured from the attacks of the monks and nobles; when the proper balance is eſtabliſhed between all ranks of the ſtate; when the fine arts and ſciences, agreeable to their proper diſtinction, are only uſed for recreation, and more is not expended on them than a prudent œconomical father, who meaſures all his expences by the ſtate of his fortune, would lay out on his pleaſures; and when from this very reaſon, to wit, becauſe they hold the rank they ought to hold, they thrive better than when exceſſive encouragement connects a train of votaries to them, who only love them for the ſake of what they procure. When the

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arts become the means of gaining a livelihood, there is an end of all great works; and when artiſts form a corporation, as with us, it is a corporation of apes and monkies. How rare are original geniuſes! Would millions raiſe a Voltaire?

Pardon this digreſſion, which was not ſo much a laſh to your hobby horſe, as an effuſion of my eſteem for the Emperor, whom I would wiſh to juſtify in your ſight. I know that you cannot eaſily forgive his doing ſo little for the fine arts; but conſider, brother, he lays out from ten to 20,000 louis d'ors, in ſupporting thoſe who carry on uſeful employments, every one of whom, that wiſhes to eſtabliſh a uſeful manufactory, may have any ſum advanced at a ſmall, or even without any intereſt at all. He aſſiſts all who will ſettle in the country in every way. He makes roads, builds villages, towns, and harbours, and has an army of at leaſt 300,000 men to ſupport. Ought he to be circumſcribed in theſe expences, in order to eſtabliſh an academy of *Inſcriptions* and *Belles lettres?* Forbid it patriotiſm, forbid it humanity.

Perhaps, in time, he will do ſomething for your goddeſſes, when all the court debts are paid, his finances in complete order, and the cloiſters thinned. His debts are certainly not

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ſo great as ours, and yet they amount to about 160 millions of florins, and he is obliged to pay eighteen millions a year, in intereſt and capital. The lands belonging to the cloiſters and religious foundations, in the Imperial hereditary lands, are eſtimated at 300 millions of florins, of which nearly one half comes from the Netherlands and Lombardy. Poſſibly the muſes may, in time, inherit ſome of this immenſe wealth.

LETTER XXXVII.

Vienna.

TO-MORROW I leave this place; I ſhall ſtay ſome time at Prague, where I expect to hear from you.

It is now evident what the Emperor was about, during his mother's life-time. All the ſtrangers who are here are aſtoniſhed at the ſhort time in which one of the greateſt and moſt total revolutions has been effected; a ſure ſign that it was thought of long before, and all the materials prepared. The nobility and clergy are every day more convinced that it will go harder and harder with them. But they make no reſiſtance; for both orders are entirely diſarmed. Notwithſtanding their great riches, the nobility are enfeebled by their effeminacy and diſſipation, and the clergy have a ſnake in their own boſoms which will ſting them to death. This ſnake is philoſophy; which, under the ſemblance of theology, has glided even to the epiſcopal chair. Moſt of the younger eccleſiaſtics are infected by the poiſon of this ſnake in the univerſities. They all know that there is a Febronius in the world, and ſome of them are only acquainted with

with him as a heretic; yet as the arguments of the cowl have a much greater effect upon them than the arguments of their profeſſors, and as the court is evidently friendly to him, they are not unwilling to be reconciled to their old enemy. The Bellarminiſts, who poſſeſs all the great benefices, ſtill make, it is true, the greater number; but if once they are in danger of loſing their cures, or the 25,000 advocates in the Imperial dominions, who have long been ready with arguments, are ordered to charge, they will, no doubt, make very little reſiſtance.

I do not believe there is a ſingle man of underſtanding in the army, who does not moſt thoroughly approve the Emperor's new regulations. This part of the adminiſtration of the country has been in his hands a conſiderable time; and it carries marks in every part of it, of having been ſo. Amongſt all the Imperial officers I was acquainted with, I did not meet with one, of a certain age, who did not poſſeſs a certain fund of philoſophy. During my ſtay here, I found them by far the beſt company in the place, and, with the permiſſion of the Profeſſors, Doctors, and other Literati, muſt think them by far the moſt enlightened people in the Auſtrian dominions. I will anſwer for finding many corporals in the Imperial army who have

more ſenſe than nine out of ten of the literati. There has long been a freedom of thinking and reaſoning in the army, which is a ſtrong contraſt to what obtains elſewhere, and does the Emperor the utmoſt honour. Every regiment has a library to itſelf, and the officers find means to procure every good book, however prohibited it may be. The King of Pruſſia has no longer Pope *be-ſalved* and *be-conſecrated* generals, as he uſed to call Daun, to contend with. Even amongſt the common ſoldiers, you may obſerve a kind of natural logic, which is the conſequence of the way in which they are managed, and which you may trace in their tents, in their manœuvres, in their tables, and in every thing that belongs to them. There is not a veſtige left of the bigotry which heretofore made the Imperial army ſo conſpicuous. What, indeed, will the black troop undertake againſt a corps conducted as this is? The Emperor will not find the ſame facility in reforming the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice, as he will meet with in reforming the church. There is ſtill a formidable darkneſs over all this part of legiſlation. The defects, partly owing to the laws themſelves, and the forms of adminiſtring juſtice, and partly increaſed through the ſtupidity, pedantry, diſſoluteneſs, ſelfiſhneſs and want of patriotiſm

triotiſm of the ſervants of the court, have long been felt. The late Empreſs endeavoured to remedy them, but in vain; for were the *Codex Thereſianus* ten times leſs barbarous than it is, ſtill little would have been done. There is a want of men to give vigour to laws, however good.

During the time he was only a kind of vice-roy, the Emperor took all the pains he was able, to throw more light upon the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to render it more impartial; nor do I believe there is a ſingle inſtance of a ſtriking and notorious act of injuſtice having been committed by any of his immediate ſervants; but he could not create new ſubjects, and as long as pride, lazineſs, and the love of ſhew, continue to be leading features in the characters of the principal members of the courts of juſtice, it is impoſſible but that fraud, chicanery, and, indeed, roguery of every kind, muſt find their way, in proceſſes ſo complicated as theſe are.

Criminal juſtice is, indeed, in a moſt piteous condition. When you read the *Codex Thereſianus*, you would conceive that it had been compoſed for a horde of *Baſchis*. Here are puniſhments for crimes which have not been heard of in the country for a century; and penalties, very grievous indeed, but at the ſame time moſt ridiculous,

diculous, when you compare the ſtate of the country and the ſtate of the law, for offences which happen every day, but raiſe no clamour, ſuch as fornication, adultery, and ſodomy. This, however, is not ſo great an evil; for let laws be as ſevere as they will, ſtill they expoſe civil and natural liberty to no danger, and the moſt inhuman laws that can be deviſed, are better than no law at all; or what amounts to the ſame thing, the non-obſervance of any. The latter unfortunately is the caſe here. It was ſoon ſeen that the *Codex Thereſianus* agreed neither with the manners nor the character of the people, and the court became aſhamed, at the time that all Europe was making an outcry about humanity, the abolition of capital puniſhments, &c. &c. of a ſtatute-book which had nothing in it but halters, gibbets, ſwords, &c. What was to be done? They would not repeal the law; but contented themſelves with an univerſal requiſition to the judges to be mild, and not to inflict capital puniſhments without neceſſity. This miſunderſtood lenity is the greateſt tyranny in the world. The moſt cruel law that can be deviſed cannot commit murder. On the contrary, the more cruel the law is, the more depravity and obſtinacy it beſpeaks to ſin againſt it; but the general direction, to 'have 'recourſe to no capital puniſhments without 'neceſſity,'

'neceſſity,' tends to ſubmit the guilty to the diſcretion of the judge, and thus undermines one of the principal props of civil liberty. As long as laws, let them be as ſevere as they will, are rigidly obſerved, the tranſgreſſor is without excuſe. He knew the law, and not to guard againſt the penalty of it, beſpoke wickedneſs and weakneſs; but in the laſt caſe he may be the victim of circumſtances, with which his crime has not the leaſt connection. I will relate a fact to you, which happened ſome years ago at Lintz, which, though it relates to military juſtice, will give you a very good idea of the ſtate of criminal juſtice in this country.

Two grenadiers, who were among the handſomeſt men of the regiment, agreed to deſert from Stein, and engaged others to deſert with them. They were detected and condemned to die, as ringleaders, by the council of war. The whole regiment knew, that every general in the army had it in command, to ſuffer no ſentence of death to be put in execution without the utmoſt neceſſity. As this neceſſity did not exiſt, General Brown was determined to grant a pardon, and he would have done ſo; but on a ſudden the whole ſcene changed. The comrades of the priſoners went to them in priſon, got drunk with them, and offered to go to the gallows in their ſtead; ſo perſuaded were they

that

that the pardon would come. The whole of this was related to the general. The day came; the young men went cheerfully to the field; all Lintz had no doubt but a pardon would meet them there, when lo, and behold! General Brown found out, that this was the reſerved caſe of extreme neceſſity, and the men were executed. What was the conſequence? The general had a reprimand from Vienna; but did he deſerve it? Was it not a ſufficiently good excuſe for his conduct, to ſay, that deſertions were grown every day more common, from the idea that ſentences of death would never be carried into execution? In my opinion, theſe grenadiers were victims to the weakneſs of the legiſlation. Stability, not mercy, is the firſt merit of a law.

A general defect, which runs through the whole of this legiſlation, is, that it is loaded with orders which are not made effective. There is no end of projects and writings. There are orders upon orders, injunctions upon injunctions, and reſcripts upon reſcripts; the laſt of which always overturns, or at leaſt very much limits the preceding one. This is ſo conſtant a thing, that ſeveral perſons in office in the country make it a rule, before they carry an order into execution, to wait five or ſix weeks to ſee whether it will not be contradicted. It would be a curious, and to the Auſtrian ſtate a very profitable

buſineſs, if any perſon would take the trouble of collecting the contradictory laws which have been promulgated within theſe laſt eighteen or twenty years. This, no doubt, aroſe in part, becauſe the Emperor and his mother had different plans of legiſlation; but now he governs alone, he will find it very difficult to bring matters right, as he cannot depend upon any aſſiſtance whatever from his ſubalterns.

The language of the courts of juſtice here is very ſingular. You muſt know, that they have a ſtyle of their own, which is totally different from the common ſtyle, and is called the chancellery, or law ſtyle.—I have juſt been reading a reſcript of the Imperial court to the chapter of Saltzburgh, who are engaged in a law-ſuit with their archbiſhop. It contains periods which fill a whole folio ſide of paper, and in which, with all the attention in the world, it is impoſſible to find a connection. Indeed, the more unconnected it is, and the more abounding in the ſcarceſt Latin and French words, the better this ſtyle is reckoned. There are likewiſe many German words, which are uſed in a ſenſe directly oppoſite to what they have in common language. I look upon it as quite impoſſible that the grandchildren of the preſent generation ſhould underſtand a ſingle ſyllable of all their jargon. Fare ye well.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVIII.

Prague.

THE journey from Vienna to this place was one of the moſt pleaſing I have ever taken, notwithſtanding we did not meet with a ſingle good town, during a journey of forty-four German poſt miles. My company conſiſted of an Imperial officer, a prieſt, and a traveller from Lower Saxony. The officer had ſerved in the laſt war in Sileſia. He was a ſenſible man, and acted as our *Cicerone* on two of the moſt noted fields of battle recorded in modern hiſtory.

As long as we continued in Auſtria, the country appeared ſingularly well cultivated, and there was all the appearance of a high ſtate of happineſs and eaſe among the farmers; but in the parts of Moravia we came through, the inhabitants did not ſeem near ſo happy as their neighbours. Notwithſtanding this, however, the country is well cultivated throughout; nor do you ſee any of the wild deſerts, which are ſo ſtriking in Hungary. Snaym and Iglau are two very pretty villages. The inhabitants of

theſe

theſe ſpeak German very well; but you obſerve that it is not their native language.

The whole country is made up partly of a plain, and partly of gently riſing hills; but on the confines of Bohemia, the hills riſe into more ſtately, as well as more fruitful mountains. The parts of theſe through which our road lay, were covered with fine woods, villages, and ſeveral very ſtately caſtles, and there are mile-ſtones all the way. The roads are excellent. We met with few villages on the plains of Bohemia; it ſeems the Germans have a proverb, which ſays of a thing that is ſcarce, 'that it is ſcarce 'as a village in Bohemia.' As, however, it is evident from the liſt of thoſe who draw for ſoldiers, that the country is extremely well peopled, and as we ſaw ſome very good agriculture, and no barren ground, we did not at firſt know what to make of theſe appearances; but our officer, who had travelled over the country far and near, explained them to us. He told us, that moſt of the villages lay off the great road, in the neighbourhood of rivers and brooks, or behind woods, and that if we would go a mile and a half, either to the right or left, we ſhould ſee enough of them. This cuſtom of hiding the habitations in the rocks of the country, or behind woods, probably took its riſe in

the time of wars, when the inhabitants endeavoured to procure ſhelter from the robbers and knight-errants who infeſted the land.—No doubt the convenience of having water contributed ſomething to it. Between Kolin and Planiani, which are diſtant two German miles from each other, we came to the noted field of battle, which has taken its name from theſe two places, though it ought to have it from the ſmall village near which the action really happened. Here we got out, and our *Cicerone*, who was proud of having had his ſhare in the honour of that day, which did away the ignominy of Auſtria, went over the ground with us.

Many reaſons have been given why this battle proved ſo fatal to the king of Pruſſia, and, as in all other caſes of the kind, the hiſtorian will be puzzled to chooſe between the different relations of various ſenſible men, who were *all* eye-witneſſes, and *all* took part in the labour and difficulty of the day.—Here, however, the event evidently depended upon the ground, which Daun knew how to make his advantage of.

Along the road, and to the right of it, there is a plain which extends as far as the eye can reach; on the left of this there is a gentle riſe, which makes a kind of a peak near the village where the great action took place. On the right of this riſing,

riſing, which you can hardly call a hill, you diſcover ſtreight before you a long, deep, ditch, encompaſſed with ſteep walls, which have the appearance, at a diſtance, of a plain betwixt woods. To the left this hill ſinks in a remarkable hollow, and loſes itſelf backwards in a great plain. Daun's right wing was placed on the top of the riſing, and the remainder of his army was covered by the ditch on the left. The king of Pruſſia approached by the plain through which we were to paſs. He was compelled to fight, or give up the ſiege of Prague, and evacuate Bohemia. The only part of the Imperial army he could attack was the right wing. The gallant Pruſſians were not at all diſheartened by the inequality of the ground. Ever accuſtomed to conquer, their right wing advanced in ſilence up the hill. The Imperials, who had the advantage of the ground, beat them back again. Six times the Pruſſians returned to the attack; but as the ground was very narrow, they were at length much impeded by the numbers of their own dead, who lay on the ſlopes of the hill they had to aſcend. Notwithſtanding all this, they would ſtill have gained the day, if Daun had not had time to flank his beaten right wing with cavalry. This immediately charged to the left of the hill in the flank

of the Pruſſians, who, after the ſharpeſt conteſt, were at length obliged to give way. Whilſt they were retreating in good order, prince Maurice, of Deſſau, whoſe bravery often approached to raſhneſs, took a ſingle battalion, and with it encountered the whole force of the Auſtrian army. This made the rout much greater than it would otherwiſe have been. The prince would have fought his troops to the laſt man, if he had not been called off from his raſh-headed attempt by the king's ſpecial command. As among other loſſes the king's guard had been entirely cut off, when the prince came up to him, he began crying out, "My guard, prince! "my guard!" To which the other made anſwer, "My regiment, your majeſty! my regi- "ment!" He thought, that as his regiment had been cut off, there was nothing worth ſaving.

Now it may probably have been a fault in the king not to have had any cavalry in his left wing; but if it was ſo, it aroſe from the unevenneſs of the ground. If the Auſtrians had not had the great advantage of having their right wing on an eminence, and the reſt of their army ſecure, in all probability the Pruſſians, who notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, made the victory dubious for a great while, would have got

got the day before Daun could have ſupported the attacked part with his cavalry, and in that caſe no perſon would have thought of a failure of cavalry on the Pruſſian part. The king, too, could not obſerve the motions of the German horſe, whoſe ſudden appearance from the hollow was the more formidable, from its being entirely unexpected, and what *a priori* muſt have ſeemed very improbable to the king.

Others ſay, that the king purpoſed to do nothing with his left wing, but intended to alter his mode of battle, and charge with his right, whilſt the prince of Deſſau was amuſing the enemy.—In that caſe his flank would have been ſecured from the attack of the enemy's cavalry, and he would have had nothing to fear from the Auſtrian left wing on this ſide the deep ditch. —But, ſay thoſe who maintain this opinion, the prince of Deſſau, inſtead of amuſing the enemy, made ſo lively and ſerious an attack, that the king was obliged to ſupport him, out of apprehenſion, that if the prince was repulſed, the whole army might have been brought into diſorder by the flight of his regiment. I take this likewiſe to be one of thoſe after-thoughts which ſhew what a man ſhould have done, but not what he did, or had a mind to do.—Others think, that the king truſting ſolely to his good

fortune, which had done ſuch great things for him a little before at the battle of Prague, had neglected ſome neceſſary arrangements, particularly the bringing up his cavalry. But this ſeems one of the obſervations which a ſenſible writer makes after the time, to give himſelf the air of appearing to know more than other people. A man like the king of Pruſſia, who gives continual proofs that he does not ſuffer himſelf to be depreſſed by any reverſe of fortune, is not likely to have been too much raiſed by his ſucceſs.

Being now beaten, for the firſt time, after ſo many ſucceſsful battles, Frederick retreated in the beſt order poſſible to Saxony, through *Leutmeriſs* and *Auſſig*. Depreſſed he was not, but a little out of humour at his oldeſt brother, ſince dead, who carried part of the army back into Saxony, by Gabel, experienced.—But, no doubt, you are well acquainted with this wonderful retreat, and the anecdotes concerning it, to be found in the book entitled, *Recueil de Lettres de ſa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe, regardant le derniere guerre.* If the king had gained this battle he would have been maſter of all Bohemia. All Auſtria would have ſtood open to him, and *Ollmutz* only would have prevented his going to Vienna. In this caſe he would have dictated to his enemies the

the conditions of peace, whereas the miſcarriage was followed by ſix years of bloody war.

The king commanded this action from the window of an upper ſtory of a public houſe, which ſtands alone, and is very near the road. It was with inexpreſſible pleaſure that we dined in the room, which commands a view of the field of battle on both ſides. Every thing here appeared ſacred to me: as I ſtood in the place occupied by the king, in the window which directly fronts the eminence which occaſioned his defeat, I felt all the mortification he muſt have experienced, when he found his troops giving way.—There were ſome marks of cannon-balls in the walls of this houſe, and the king was not altogether ſafe.

Kolin is a pretty little town, it is, without a doubt, the beſt place you meet with betwixt Prague and Vienna; the garriſon, however, excepted, it does not contain above three thouſand five hundred ſouls. The houſes are not more than ſeven hundred, and do not ſeem to be very well inhabited. We reſted a little here, and were extremely well treated; you live very cheap and well all over Bohemia. Small hares, ducks, geeſe, &c. are the common food met with, in the ſmalleſt inns.

In order to give you an idea of the price of proviſions, I will give you an account of what the Saxon and I paid for a night's entertainment. You muſt know, that almoſt all the inns here have a bad appearance, and the innkeepers, notwithſtanding the plenty they afford travellers, ſeem to be but in indifferent circumſtances. Their houſes generally ſtand alone in the ſtreet, and have neither orchard, kitchen-garden, or any piece of land near belonging to them. They are obliged to pay ſo heavy a rent to the landlord, or nobleman to whom the houſe belongs, that they can gain but very little. At laſt we ſaw an inn in a village we came to, which had a better appearance; it had a roomy court, good ſtables, a neat garden, and was the property of the landlady. Now, ſaid we, as we got into our bed-chambers, we ſhall have another kind of a bill, and, no doubt, pay for the fine proſpect which this room commands, the fine furniture, the exquiſite glaſſes and china, and, in ſhort, all the fine things which we enjoy or do not enjoy. We had for ſupper a rice ſoup, with an exceeding good chicken, a ſalad, and two young hares broiled. We had excellent beer, which is remarkably good in Bohemia, and a pot of wine, which we found very bad, and would not have another, as we knew that wine was very

very dear all over Bohemia. We had two very clean beds, and ſome very good coffee for breakfaſt; and would you think it? when the bill was called for, it amounted only to forty-two creutzers, that is, about one livre and forty-two ſols French.

We ſtopped about three miles from Prague, and went ſome furlongs out of the way to ſee the famous field of battle of the year 1757. Here the Pruſſians overcame nature itſelf. It was impoſſible for the Auſtrians to have more favourable ground. A deep, broad, perpendicular ditch protected them from the enemy. They had a very formidable artillery, which defended the ditch by batteries placed to great advantage. When the Pruſſians made their firſt attack by the ditch, they fell like flocks of ſnow: the Auſtrian fire was terrible. There has not been a harder or bloodier action in the preſent century, nor is there perhaps in hiſtory, a ſingle inſtance of a *battle* won under ſuch circumſtances as the Pruſſians had to contend with. It is almoſt literally true, that they had at the the ſame time a fort to take and an army to beat, which was ſtronger than their own. Conceive to yourſelf, a deep ditch flanked with cannon, on the other ſide of which is encamped a

bold looking army of at leaſt ſeventy thouſand men. The Pruſſians marched through the ditch, and through the fortifications oppoſed to them, put the enemy to the moſt complete flight, and beſieged Prague, in which part of the flying Imperial army took refuge. But they paid dear for the victory; their loſs of men was infinitely greater than that of the enemy; accounts differ with regard to the numbers ſlain; ſome make them ſeven, others from nine to ten thouſand men. This is the caſe with all modern actions. The truth, however, without the leaſt exaggeration is, that the immenſe ditch was filled throughout its whole breadth with dead men, who in many places likewiſe, lay in great heaps upon each other.

The ſtroke which the king felt moſt of all, was the loſs of the brave general Schwerin. We looked with the moſt ſolemn melancholy on the tree near which he fell. The preſent Emperor has erected a monument to him, which does no leſs honour to the perſon who ſet it up, than to him whoſe name it bears and eternizes. Many anecdotes are current with regard to the death of this brave man. It has been ſaid, that a rough anſwer given by the king to a meſſage he ſent him by an adjutant

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in the midſt of the battle, to let him know it was impoſſible to win it, occaſioned him to ſeek death; but I do not believe this; for even ſuppoſing Schwerin to have remonſtrated on what he thought an impoſſibility, the king knew well enough that the word *obey* was ſufficient to remind him of his duty, and to make him do all that could be expected from a man of his character, for courage and abilities; no, we muſt do Schwerin the juſtice to ſay, that he died becauſe, according to the proverb, every man owes a death. He died like a patriot; he ſaw the violence of the conteſt, ſaw the good will of his ſoldiers, and their courage, which the havock death made all around them could not tame. Nothing, he found, but an act of deſperation on his part could ſave them, he therefore ſnatched the colours out of the hands of a dying cornet, crying, follow me, my brave boys, and rode up to the mouth of the cannon. A ball took him off, at the head of his brave troops, but they, fired by his courage and example, got up the hill, broke in on the enemy, and by that deed turned the day in favour of the king. After the battle the king beſieged Prague. Daun in the mean time collected the broken Imperial troops, got an army together, and haſtened

haſtened to the relief of the town, the garriſon of which was making a brave reſiſtance; this army the king was compelled to attack, or raiſe the ſiege; this brought on the above deſcribed battle of Kolin, in which he loſt all that he had won before.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

Prague.

BOHEMIA is a country favoured of heaven, the climate is excellent. In this excurſion I have become acquainted with ſeveral foreigners who make their conſtant reſidence here, and are induced to it by the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the goodneſs and cheapneſs of all the neceſſaries of life, and the cheerful good-humour of the inhabitants,—and yet Æneas Silvius deſcribes the country as a part of Siberia, though it was, in all probability, more flouriſhing in his time than it is now; to be ſure, the difference of the climate muſt have been ſtriking to a Roman, but I believe his eminence was here only in the winter; the ſpring is not ſo beautiful even at Rome, as it is here; ſpring and ſummer are as remarkable as the winter is at Vienna, where you ſeldom ſee a regular ſpring, but the winter and ſummer almoſt join. The climate of this country is not expoſed to any of thoſe ſudden and inclement changes which are ſo fatal to health in other places. The winter colds are neither too

ſharp, nor the ſummer heats too ſtrong. The air is dry, clear, and temperate. The country lies high, and forms a large extended plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by very high hills covered with rich woods. The vale in the middle, which is watered by the Elbe, the Moldaw, and the Eyer, of which you may eaſily form an idea, by caſting your eyes on the map, is protected from the force of the wind. The ſeveral hollows in the middle contribute to let out the waters, ſo that there are neither lakes nor moraſſes to fill the air with unwholeſome vapours. As the ſoil is ſtony only in very few places, the waters flow eaſily through the country, and make it fruitful, without filling the air, as is the caſe in ſeveral parts of Upper Switzerland, with catarrhs and coughs.

The country produces every thing that can contribute to the comfort of life in aſtoniſhing abundance, wine and ſalt only excepted. The greateſt part of the former is brought at a very moderate price from Lintz, where is a warehouſe for ſalt, which is brought from Gerund in Auſtria, and Halle in the Tyrol. The remainder is brought from Auſtrian Poland at a moderate price. There have been many ſucceſsful experiments made to produce wine, and I have taſted ſome melnikers, very little inferior

to the ſecond ſort of Bourdeaux wines. The firſt ſtocks were brought from Burgundy. The country, however, will hardly be able to produce a ſufficiency of this article for conſumption, but it has other advantages to make up for the loſs. As it poſſeſſes moſt of the prime neceſſaries of life, and by that means commands a ſuperiority of trade, which none of the neighbouring countries can diſpute with it, it provides a great part of Sileſia, Saxony, and Auſtria with corn, and alſo ſells them ſome cattle. The circle of *Saaſſer* is alone able to furniſh all Bohemia, populous as the country is, with corn, even in moderate years. The excellent Bohemian hops are carried as far as the Rhine in great quantities. The breed of horſes is likewiſe wonderfully improved within theſe few years, and bring annually large ſums of money into the country. The Bohemian tin is the beſt of any, next to the Engliſh; and they carry on a very conſiderable trade in alum, and ſeveral kinds of precious ſtones, particularly garnets. The large woods, in which the country abounds, furniſh materials for the wonderful manufactories of glaſs, which bring a great deal of money into the country, and find their way into every part of Europe from Portugal to Sweden. Within theſe few years they have alſo made large

large quantities of very good, and uncommonly cheap hats, with which they ſupply great part of the inhabitants of Auſtria, Bavaria, and Franconia. The handkerchief and linen manufactories are alſo in good repute.

The Bohemians travel much. Some as dealers in glaſs, who go as far as England and Italy, and ſome as baſket and ſieve makers. I have met with large caravans of theſe on the Upper Rhine, and in the Netherlands. Theſe people commonly come home with pretty large ſums of money; they keep together like brothers, whilſt they are in foreign countries. They have indeed an uncommon ſhare of patriotiſm, and a kind of confidence in each other, which often makes them paſs in the eyes of ſtrangers for a ſavage and barbarous people, though they really are not ſo.

Since the days of Huſs they have a ſecret hatred to the Germans, which does not ariſe ſo much from bad temper as from a kind of national pride. Moſt of the farmers who live near the roads, ſpeak German; but as they do not like to talk to a ſtranger without neceſſity, they pretend not to underſtand a word of what the traveller ſays, and make their ſport of him amongſt themſelves. It has been attempted to make them ſend their children to German

German ſchools, but hitherto they have all proved abortive. They have an unſpeakable averſion to whatever is German. I have heard young men here talk of the battles which their anceſtors, under Ziſka, fought againſt the Germans, with a degree of warmth and pride, which made them very amiable in my eyes. They ſtill remember too, that the reſidence of the court at Prague formerly rendered the country flouriſhing, and lament that the preference which has been given to Auſtria, in conſequence of a ſlight miſunderſtanding, carries off large ſums annually from the country, which are ſent to Vienna, partly by the court, and partly by the nobility. The late Empreſs was extremely offended with them on account of this miſunderſtanding, and Bohemia was the only one of her old hereditary dominions which ſhe never viſited.

The Huſſites are ſtill very numerous in the country. Some think that a fourth part of the inhabitants are of this ſect, which has alſo ſpread widely in Moravia. Scarce four years are paſt ſince above 10,000 farmers made a little ſtand to recover their freedom of opinion; but they were ſoon quieted, and the thing had no further conſequences.

Voltaire,

Voltaire, and ſome other hiſtorians, have much miſrepreſented the famous Huſs and his doctrines. They look upon this reformer as a man of a very limited underſtanding, and think that his object went no further than to procure the clergy leave to marry, and let the people have the uſe of the cup, at the ſacrament. They love to make ſport with him, and ſay, that he endeavoured to make the incomprehenſible myſtery ſtill more incomprehenſible, without having the leaſt attention to how much the human mind was lowered by ſuch myſteries. They deny him the philoſophical ſpirit, both of his predeceſſor Wickliff, or of his followers, Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin. I had formerly the ſame opinion of him myſelf; but ſince I have ſtudied his hiſtory, and the hiſtories of his followers, I have conceived a much higher idea of him. I ſearched in the library of Vienna for all the documents that relate to this intereſting hiſtory. In Menker, I found a vindication of the opinions of the Huſſites, addreſſed to the diet of Nurenberg. It is written in a German which I could not underſtand, till I had read it over ſix or ſeven times, and procured aſſiſtance from ſeveral of my friends. This wonderful repreſentation contains the whole confeſſion of faith of the Huſſites.

They

They attack the whole ſyſtem of the Roman Catholic church, purgatory, faſts, monkery,—and it is certain that they were only one ſtep behind Calvin. The ſtyle of this vindication has all the marks of intimate perſuaſion, and of the ſoundeſt underſtanding, only like Luther, the author ſometimes falls into the ſtyle of the times, and runs into low language.

In fact, the ſole advantage which the other reformers had over Huſs, aroſe from the invention of printing ſince his time, as in conſequence of this, knowledge was much more widely ſpread, as the doctrines could be much more widely diffuſed. The doctrines of Huſs were loſt amidſt the wars which followed his death. They were ſtifled in the barbarity which overſpread Bohemia, when the people no longer attended to any teacher, but the ſword became the ſole decider of all controverſy.

I found ſufficient proofs, that Huſs, notwithſtanding his obſtinacy and preſumption, poſſeſſed an enlightened and philoſophical mind, which, however, partook ſomewhat of the unpoliſhed character of the age in which he lived. I am ſometimes tempted to write his hiſtory, which perhaps is not yet ſufficiently underſtood. Whether I ſhall perſevere I know not, but in the mean time will collect what mate-

rials I can, and when I have time, try whether I have any talents for writing hiſtory,—at leaſt I feel a great temptation to do this.

The preſent race of Huſſites, flatter themſelves, that the Emperor, whoſe ſentiments of toleration are well known, and who is very fond of the Bohemians, will reſtore to them their freedom of opinion; but people here generally think, that they are deceived in their expectations; for as their ſentiments nearly approach thoſe of the Lutherans, it would not be very prudent to allow the eſtabliſhment of a new ſect, which always ſpreads ſome roots that may grow, and be dangerous.

The Bohemians are a wonderfully ſtrong-built race of men. Dubravius, one of their hiſtorians, who was Biſhop of Olmutz, in the ſixteenth century, compares them to lions. 'As 'the land (ſays he, according to the manner of 'writing of thoſe times,) lies under the influ-'ence of Leo, ſo do its inhabitants poſſeſs all 'the qualities of that noble animal. Their high 'cheſts, ſparkling eyes, ſtrong thick hair, ſtout 'bones, ſtrength, courage, and irreſiſtible ſpi-'rit, when oppoſed, all ſhew evidently that 'the lion is their ſtar, which they bear likewiſe 'in their coat of arms.'

They

They are a handſome, ſtrong-built, and active race of people; and you ſee evidently that they are deſcended from the Croats, who are ſome of the handſomeſt people upon earth. Their heads are a little too large; but their broad ſhoulders, and their thick-ſet bodies, render the diſproportion not ſo viſible as it would otherwiſe be. They are without doubt the beſt ſoldiers of all the Emperor's troops. They bear the inconveniencies of the military life longer than any. Even hunger, that deadly fiend to every thing that calls itſelf an Imperial ſoldier, they can ſupport for a conſiderable time.

My journey through the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, confirmed an opinion I had long ſince taken up in other countries, which is, that the inhabitants of the mountains are by no means as good ſoldiers as thoſe who inhabit the plains. The Tyroleſe, Carinthians, Ukranians, and Styrians, have as ſtrong bodies as the Bohemians, but they are by no means as good ſoldiers as theſe, and without a doubt are the moſt wretched of all the Emperor's troops. Even in Switzerland, as I have heard from ſome of the moſt intelligent officers of the country, the Zurichers, and that part of the inhabitants of Berne, who live in

the lower parts of the Canton, are infinitely better ſoldiers than the *Graubundtners*, and other nations who inhabit the top of the Alps. The true reaſon of this is no doubt to be ſought for in the peculiar way of living of a mountainous people, which is too particular for them ever to be able to change their way of life, without ſuffering by it.

All people likewiſe who live by paſturage, are known to be much weaker than thoſe who live by agriculture, who are hardened by the weather, and continual labour. The inhabitants of mountains, who according to the teſtimony of hiſtory, are moſtly herdſmen, defend their country with more perſeverence, than the inhabitants of plains, becauſe the property they have in it, makes them fonder of it, and becauſe the defence of their almoſt inacceſſible poſſeſſions, is naturally much eaſier to them; but they are by no means as formidable out of their own country, and they ſoon get the *maladie du Pais*, which you know is ſo common amongſt the Swiſs.

The conſtitution and manners of the country contribute much to make the Bohemians ſuch ſoldiers as they are. The farmers live in a poverty, which preſerves them from effeminacy and luxury much more effectually than any

any poſitive ſumptuary law could do. Beſides this, the feudal ſlavery ſyſtem, which obtains here in the extreme, accuſtoms them, from their youth upwards, to unconditional obedience, the great military virtue of our days. Their conſtant labour and ſcanty food, renders them hardy, and, like the Spartans, they find the ſoldier's life far eaſier than ploughing the fields of their maſters.

It is inconceivable how a people in ſuch a wretched ſituation ſhould poſſeſs ſo many virtues as theſe do. They have given irrefragable proofs of their love of liberty, and in no city of the Auſtrian hereditary dominions have I met with ſo many true patriots as there are here. The Bohemian peaſant is generally looked upon as ſtupid and inſenſible, but take them all together, they have a great deal of feeling and natural underſtanding. I have converſed with ſeveral of them, who lamented the horrors of their ſituation to me in terms ſufficiently expreſſive, and ſpoke of the cruelty of their tyrants as it deſerved to be ſpoken of. They love the Emperor with a degree of enthuſiaſm, and are confident that he will break their chains. In the Huſſite war they gave proofs of courage, which would obſcure all the famed deeds of the Helvetic one, if they were but half as well de-

ſcribed or ſung as theſe have been: without any advantages of ſituation, and on even ground, they have with a handful of men defeated bands far better armed, and far better diſciplined than themſelves. Their onſet was irreſiſtible, and they would have inevitably ſecured that freedom to themſelves, for which they fought ſo well, if towards the end of the war, diſſenſions, moſtly foſtered by the ſpirit of party and prieſtcraft that had ariſen amongſt themſelves, had not ruined them, and if they had not been betrayed by treaties with their enemies.

I could not without the greateſt commiſeration look upon the handſome young farmers, who barefooted, with torn linen, and ſtockings uncommonly tattered, and yet clean clothes, without neckcloths, often without hats, were carrying corn or wood for their maſters to market. Their good appearance and cheerfulneſs ſeemed to me but ill-ſuited to their hard fortune. One of them, who carried my great-coat (which I had brought out with me for fear of rain, but could not wear on account of the heat) in his waggon during a three days journey I took on foot, to the pretty village of Brandeis, was the drolleſt and beſt young man in the world. He had nothing on but breeches and ſtockings, but ſhewed us with a kind of vanity, a ſort of linen frock

frock which was in the waggon, and which had almoſt as many holes as threads in it. His ſhirt was almoſt in pieces, and yet he aſſured me, in his broken German, that he cared neither for wind nor weather: this led me into ſeveral philoſophical reflections upon the luxury of my uſeleſs great coat. My young man was all life and ſpirits, and his good-looking legs, and ſunburned face, had almoſt reconciled me to the ſlavery I had been ſo angry with. Thought I to myſelf, luxury is generally complained of, and temperance and hardineſs recommended to the farmer; but is it poſſible to preſerve them from effeminacy and luxury, if you once open the door of riches to them. On the other hand, the maſter is obliged to furniſh his ſlave with neceſſaries, if he does not chooſe to ruin himſelf; and though the latter has no property, he is ſure of never being expoſed to beg his bread. No fire, no weather, no war can put him in a different ſituation at the end of the year, from what he was when he began it. In this manner I was going on; but the thoughts that their hardineſs and frugality is no conſequence of their own good will, and that they are no more in their maſters eſtimation than the cattle which plough the fields, broke off at once the contract I was making with ſlavery.—In the mean

time my fellow-traveller accompanied my reflections with dancing and ſinging, and in the intervals talked to his two fine horſes, whoſe wonderfully ſleek ſkins were a ſtrong contraſt to his own miſerable clothing. He ſeemed to have a great love for the horſes, ſtroked and patted them; and yet they were not his, but belonged to a prelate, whoſe ſlave he was. For my part, brother, I have no good idea of a prelate, who covers his horſes backs with fine trappings, and ſuffers his ſlaves to go naked. But, is a man to expect *conſiſtency* in a *prelate?* —My good young peaſant gave me a proof of ſtrength which aſtoniſhed me. Not far from the village where I intended to paſs the night, his ſpirited horſes attempted to run away, but the waggon fell into a ditch, loſt a wheel, and the horſes were forced to ſtand ſtill. The young man lightened the hinder axletree, where the wheel had failed, and thought the horſes would do the reſt, but the ditch was too deep; I would have aſſiſted him, but he proteſted highly againſt it, and ſetting himſelf with all his force to the waggon, in a moment it was right again, without the horſes having done any thing.—He refuſed the ſmall preſent I would have made him, and, as we went along, laughed at me whenever I talked of his miſerable circumſtances,

cumſtances, and ſeemed to think it ſtrange I ſhould imagine that he wanted any thing: poſſibly his maſter makes up to him in good eating and drinking, what he ſuffers him to want in clothes.

I ſaw every where amongſt the peaſants excellent horſes. The Emperor, and all the German nobility, have furniſhed their ſtuds with Moldavian, Tartarian, and Tranſylvanian ſtone-horſes, which have much improved the breed. For a guilder any man may get his mare covered in the Imperial or nobles ſtuds.

Bohemia furniſhes a great part of the horſes for the dragoons, and the race becomes every day better and more numerous.

LETTER

LETTER XL.

Prague.

THIS is a very large town, it is above three miles long, and above two broad, but the population by no means anſwers to the ſize of the place. In ſeveral parts you ſeem as if you were in a village. Near the bridge, which ſtands at the upper part of the city, the number of people is very great, but the further you go from hence the more deſolate you find every place. The number of inhabitants is about ſeventy thouſand, and there is about five thouſand houſes.—The bridge over the Moldau is ſeven hundred feet long; it is built of large freeſtone, and ornamented on both ſides with ſtone ſtatues as large as life, but not more than three of theſe are worth ſeeing. There are very few good buildings in this place, and almoſt every thing looks very dirty. The royal caſtle is a very large irregular building, but it is built on a hill, which commands a very fine proſpect over the whole city and country round. Not far from hence ſtands the archbiſhop's houſe (a pretty modern building), and the old cathedral, in which there are ſome pieces

of architecture, which deſerve to be ſeen; they are the work of a celebrated German, or Bohemian artiſt, whoſe name I have forgotten.

Though the city is in general ill built, the ſituation of it is extremely fine. There is a better proſpect from the bridge than I have ſeen in larger cities. The maſs of houſes riſe like an amphitheatre to a conſiderable height. To the right the hill riſes above them as far as the imperial palace, majeſtically ſituated on the top. To the left it is covered as far as the middle with beautiful gardens and pleaſure houſes, which have a fine effect, and form a moſt extenſive and moſt magnificent amphitheatre.

From theſe gardens you command a very fine proſpect over the oppoſite part of the city. In the midſt of the broad, but dry Moldau, there are two ſmall iſlands, called Great and Little Venice, in which the inhabitants make parties of pleaſure.

The people of this place enjoy ſenſual pleaſures more than thoſe of Vienna, becauſe they know better how to connect mental enjoyments with them. The ſociety I have lived in here, has proved ſo good as to detain me a full fortnight longer than I intended. Freemaſonry flouriſhes extremely here, and ſome perſons, amongſt

amongſt whom Count R—— is one, doat on it to enthuſiaſm. The freemaſons in general do ſo much good, particularly by their eſtabliſhments for education, that it is impoſſible the Emperor ſhould be diſpleaſed with them. It is time to have done with illiberal prejudices againſt an inſtitution which has done no harm to mankind, and has done it a great deal of good.

The Bohemians, who addict themſelves to the purſuit of the arts and ſciences, generally ſpeaking, are very ſucceſsful in them. They do not want genius, and have uncommon induſtry. Their fondneſs for muſic is aſtoniſhing. I have heard ſeveral orcheſtras here which equalled thoſe of Paris in brilliancy of execution, and ſurpaſſed them in accuracy and exactneſs of harmony. Bohemian players on the horn and harp are to be met with throughout all Germany. As they always bring home great ſums of money, you ſeldom ſee a muſician of this kind, who has not travelled. This paſſion for muſic is generally attributed to the number of monaſteries and cathedrals; but the cathedrals of Auſtria and Bavaria, which are no leſs numerous, have no ſuch effect upon the public taſte of thoſe countries. I ſhould therefore ſuppoſe, that the true reaſon is to be ſought for in the cuſtoms and natural genius of the people. Moſt of the ſtudents of the

place

place are muſicians, and begin very early in life to give ſerenades and concerts in the ſquares and public places of the city.

The numerous garriſon, which is conſtantly kept here, contributes not a little to the livelineſs of this place; there are about nine thouſand men conſtantly quartered here. The ſix regiments of grenadiers are the fineſt body of infantry I have ever ſeen. The officers are excellent companions, and quite free from thoſe prejudices, from which other bodies of men are not yet totally exempt.

The Jews make a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of this place; there are at leaſt nine or ten thouſand of them; they have artiſts and mechanics of their own religion, who live in the part of the town appropriated to them, which is called the Jews city. It is pleaſant enough to walk through this part of the town, and ſee their taylors and ſhoemakers at work in the middle of the ſtreet. Their workmen are diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtian ones by their clowniſhneſs and dirt. I am aſtoniſhed as often as I think, how little of what was peculiar to themſelves in their cuſtoms, theſe people have loſt by their mixture with other nations: wherever I have ſeen them, excepting only in Holland, they are infinitely behind the Chriſtians

Chriſtians in every elegant refinement of life; and that they are otherwiſe in Holland, may be owing to moſt of thoſe who are ſettled there having come chiefly from Portugal, where the perſecutions they are expoſed to compel them to aſſimilate as much to Chriſtians as poſſible. At Prague they are diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtians by a yellow handkerchief, which they are obliged to wear round their arms. Their induſtry is wonderful; in almoſt every inn there is a Jew, who does the buſineſs of a houſe-ſervant; he fills my ſnuff-box, garters my ſtockings, does all the little matters I have occaſion for; bruſhes my ſhoes, duſts my clothes, and is in every reſpect a *valet de place*, excepting that he will take no money. He looks upon himſelf as extremely well paid for his trouble, by the gift of ſome old clothes, which he diſpoſes of again. Theſe fellows ſerve many ſtrangers on the ſame terms, and content themſelves with what they can make by trucking and bartering among their own people, without aſking any thing farther. If you give them ſomething to drink beſides they are very thankful, but I have never ſeen them troubleſome with their demands.

What political inconſiſtency!—The government of this place allows the Jews, the profeſſed enemies

enemies of Chriſtianity, freedom of thought, and liberty to ſerve God in their own way, and refuſes it to the Proteſtants, who think as we do in all the fundamental points of religion; whilſt a hoſtile, deceitful, treacherous people, are maintained in the full poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges; contracts have been repeatedly (I do not ſpeak only of what happened in former times, but under the laſt government) violated with the Huſſites.—It is a remarkable phœnomenon, dear brother, in the hiſtory of the human underſtanding, that while philoſophers all contend, that the more alike men are, the more they love each other, in religion it ſhould be quite different. Here the more likeneſs the more hatred. A member of one of the great houſes of this place, would ten times rather treat with a Jew than with a Lutheran, though the Lutheran's religion and his own are ſo nearly alike. In Holland the reformed are much more favourable to the Catholics than to the Lutherans, and the States General had much rather allow the former freedom of religion than the latter. The Anabaptiſts and Calviniſts hate each other much more than either of them do the Catholics, and ſo, in ſhort, you will find it univerſally, the nearer the religious ſects approach, the more they hate one another.

This

This city has neither an extenſive commerce nor any manufactory of conſequence. There has long been a project of rendering the Moldau navigable, but hitherto this court has not been diſpoſed to be at any expence for the public, and the thing cannot be done without a great expence. With us it would have been done long ago, as you know we have improvements, in compariſon of which, this is only child's play. Were it once done, Prague would certainly gain a good deal by it; but ſtill a great deal more would be required, before commerce could flouriſh here; there are, indeed, many impediments to get over; amongſt the principal one may be reckoned the pride of the nobility, who with the greateſt part of the national means in their hands are aſhamed of trade;—the bad education of the children, which, within theſe ten or fifteen years, has been entirely monkiſh, and by that means fitted them more for ſtrenuous idleneſs than induſtry;—the intolerance of the regency.—Such obſtacles as theſe all Joſeph's efforts will hardly be ſufficient entirely to remove. There is a foundation of Engliſh, or rather, for ſo they are called, of Iriſh nuns here. Throughout all Germany you meet with Engliſh, Scotch, and German nuns. It is generally imagined, that moſt of theſe ſeminaries have been

been founded ſince the reformation took place in England. But this is a miſtake, and moſt of them have probably ſubſiſted ever ſince the time of Charlemagne, when Britain abounded in monks, and furniſhed Germany with them. An Engliſh and Scotch nunnery ſounds as well in Germany as an Engliſh and Scotch freemaſons lodge.

This place abounds, like Vienna, in literati, who are content to ornament their rooms with the buſts, medals, prints, and profiles of learned men, but neither think nor write themſelves; and only have their titles from their belonging to no other aſſociation of men whatever: for it is here as at Vienna, whoever has neither military nor civil employment, nor is profeſſor, nor prieſt, nor merchant, nor handycraftſman, nor manufacturer, nor ſervant, nor day-labourer, nor (what in the catalogue paſſes for a man) executioner, is a man of letters, whether he ſtudies or not. In the general acceptation, a man of letters is only a *negative* quality. I am indeed acquainted with a few *poſitive* literati here, but their number in compariſon of the *negatives* is very inconſiderable. The women of this place are handſome, and you may make love with more eaſe than at Vienna.

By way of poſtcript to this letter, which muſt ſtill wait ten days before it is finiſhed, I will give you a ſhort account of an expedition we took: We went poſt as far as *Konigingraſs*; there we took horſe, and made a ſix days tour round by *Jaromers*, *Neuſtadt*, *Nachod*, *Braunau*, &c. to the borders of Sileſia, with the double purpoſe of ſeeing the encampments and fields of battle of the war that took place two years ago, and of viſiting ſome rich abbots houſes, in which my companions had friends. We had an officer with us who commanded in both expeditions, and ſucceeded very well. The marches and encampments did not intereſt me much, becauſe little was done in the war; but I was extremely pleaſed with our excurſions into the cloyſters.

My principal object was to ſee the manners and way of life of Bohemian eccleſiaſtics upon the ſpot, and I was richly rewarded. They are the moſt determined epicureans, particularly the regular bodies of them, which I have yet met with any where. They want nothing in the convents, for the accompliſhment of all earthly gratifications, but a cloyſter of nuns, made up of the maidens who do buſineſs at Prague by night; *ſub Jove pluvis, intriviis et quadriviis*. Whatever bad effect it might have in ſome reſpect, the

the farmers and manufacturers who live in the neighbourhood of the cloyſters, and conſider their wives as their property, would undoubtedly be pleaſed with the arrangement. As things now are, the monks and half monks, to whom the villages round belong, appear like ſo many hunters of women; nor do I believe them very different from thoſe old lords of manors, who uſed to claim the firſt night's poſſeſſion of every woman married to one of their vaſſals; it is at leaſt certain, that in every village we went through, we found one or two of them, who took no pains to conceal their belonging to the fraternity of jolly boys; to know them thoroughly one ought to be acquainted with their ſuperiors, who would, no doubt, furniſh good anecdotes for the ſcandalous chronicle:—in ſome convents we met with ſinging women.

The lives of the regular bodies, and even of the Benedictines, whoſe abbot, or prelates, has not yet given up the pleaſures of the world, is a perpetual carouſal, which is only interrupted by country walks, and certain ſtated belchings in church. They look upon chaunting the ſervice as a kind of expectoration good for the lungs. One of them, for whom I expreſſed ſome concern, on ſeeing him eat immenſe quantities of eggs, butter, &c. on a faſting day, ſaid in a jeſt-

ing way; 'pſhaw, pſhaw, it will all come up 'again at afternoon ſervice.'

My companions being deſirous to ſhew me a very wonderful natural curioſity, we took our way by *Trautenau* for this purpoſe. About three miles from this city the fineſt proſpect offered itſelf to our eyes that can be conceived.

Near a village, whoſe name I have forgotten, we beheld on a ſudden, a great number of high towers, ſeveral of which in many places were in regular rows, but moſt of them lay diſperſed in an extraordinary manner. We walked near a mile as if in a kind of labyrinth, encompaſſed with theſe towers on each ſide, and there was no end of my aſtoniſhment. Moſt of theſe are from ſixty to ſeventy feet high, and ſome from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. When you view them obliquely their ſummits form a kind of waving line, like the back of a hill, which riſes and ſinks again. They are all formed of a hard quarry ſtone, and would give Mr. Buffon much food for thought. Nature has for the moſt part ſhaped them into more or leſs regular ſquares; they are commonly taken for the ſkeletons of a hill, through which the water has made its way. This opinion ſeems to merit attention; but if it be a true one, and other hills have alſo their ſkeletons, it will ſhake hard

hard upon Buffon's ſyſtem; for he probably conſiders the maſſes, of which theſe towers conſiſt, as large maſſes of ſtone body, chalk and earth, which are jumbled together and have different degrees of hardneſs.

From hence we took our way back to Freiheit, and began to aſcend the *Rieſengeberge*; this hill, though very famous in Bohemia, is really no more than a mole-hill, in compariſon of the Savoyard and Swiſs Alps, or even of the Tyrol, Saltzburg, and Stirian hills. We paſſed over the famous *Snowhead*, which is the higheſt part of theſe mountains. Some perſons ſay, that it is twenty thouſand feet high; but I think I may venture to aſſert, that it is not above eight thouſand, for Mount St. Gothard in Switzerland, is by no means one of the higheſt of the Alps, and its elevation above the Mediterranean is not above thirteen thouſand feet, and yet there is eternal ice and ſnow on its ſummit; whereas here we ſaw no veſtige of ice or ſnow, though the ſummer is not yet much advanced. We were not above three hours in getting to the top on foot. The proſpect of the great mountains at our feet, and into Bohemia, and Sileſia, was ſtriking and magnificent. On the top of the hill there is a plain with a chapel on it, which is viſited by pious people once a year.

The perſons who live at any diſtance from theſe hills, look upon it as a kind of wonder when any perſon goes to the top of them, and yet I aſcended ſeveral in other parts of Germany, whoſe diſtance from the bottom is much greater, and whoſe elevation above the Mediterranean is as great again.

Though I was diſappointed in my expectations of a great mountain, by finding only a hill of a moderate ſize, I was extremely pleaſed with my journey upon the whole. We ſaw the moſt romantic landſcapes it is poſſible to imagine, particularly ſeveral vallies below the *Schneekopp*, which were wonderfully pictureſque. Moſt of the hills are covered with wood, and now and then a ragged peak ſtarts up above them. The well watered plains are extremely well cultivated; and, upon the whole, the inhabitants ſeem to be in better circumſtances than thoſe of the level plains of Bohemia.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

Dreſden.

Dear Brother,

I HAVE at once got into an entirely new world. As ſoon as you have paſſed the confines of Bohemia, which are diſtinguiſhed by a painted brick poſt ten feet high, with the arms of the country on it; you meet with an entirely different agriculture, a different people, and a different language. I now, for the firſt time, heard the common people ſpeak intelligible German, for throughout Bavaria, Suabia, and Auſtria, they ſpeak a jargon, which a man, who has learned the language of a language-maſter, has the utmoſt difficulty to underſtand. I am now, for the firſt time, really in Germany; only a very ſmall part of the country I have hitherto travelled through, to wit, the ſmall ſtrip of land which is betwixt the Danube and the Rhine in Suabia, made part of that old Germany, the inhabitants of which were ſo formidable to the Romans; the remainder is all conquered country, which at that time was called Vindelicia, Rhaetia, and Pannonia. In the times of Pepin

and Charlemagne the limits of Germany were confined even on this ſide; for as the Sclavonians had before driven the Burgundians, Suabians, and other German nations over the Elbe, theſe now poſſeſſed themſelves of their habitations, and drove the inhabitants of Germany, who lived in the diſtricts of Mentz and Rheims, into Gaul. The nations were like a row of balls, the moſt eaſtern of which was ſtruck and drove the others forward in ſucceſſion. In modern times, that is, ever ſince Luther, Saxony has been looked on as one of the firſt provinces of Germany, in every ſenſe of the word. In regard to literature particularly, the Saxons were to the reſt of the Germans, what the Florentines were ſome centuries ago to the other people of ——. But I am going too faſt, you ſhall know all this in due time; I muſt firſt tell you how I got here, and what was the face of the country through which I came.

The part of Bohemia, through which our way from Prague hither lay, ſeems infinitely richer and more beautiful than that betwixt Prague and Auſtria. The agriculture, like the country itſelf, is more varied, the people live cloſer together and ſeem to be happier. Hills, woods, plains, and vales, form an agreeable contraſt with each other; and the vine, which is

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not to be ſeen elſewhere on this ſide Prague, here covers the ſides of the hills.

We ſaw the well wooded peak of the *Ertzgiberge*, the higheſt ſummit of which parts Saxony and Bohemia. Theſe hills are but of a very moderate height, and if they make a reſpectable appearance here, it is only becauſe, from hence to the mouth of the Elbe and the eaſtern ſea, there is no other remarkable hill to be ſeen. The people who come up here from the low lands, and for the firſt time of their lives ſee a hill which deſerves the name, make a great ſhout, and think that they have ſeen the pedeſtal of heaven; juſt ſo in Bohemia, the *Rieſengeberge* is indebted for its reputation to the ſmall notion which thoſe who have brought it into repute have of hills; and thus it may formerly have been with Atlas, Olympus, Athos, Parnaſſus, and the other hills ſo noted in hiſtory.

Moore, who travelled this road before me, aſſerts that there is a great difference in point of natural fertility, betwixt the borders of Saxony and the borders of Bohemia, to the advantage of the former; I have found the direct contrary. It is certain, that the ſoil of Bohemia is by nature much richer than any part of Saxony, which it ſupplies with great part of its proviſions.

proviſions. The circle of Leutmeriſſer in particular, through which the common road paſſes, is uncommonly productive, nor is there any part of Saxony that can bear a compariſon with it; but then, on the other hand, the improved ſtate of agriculture is viſible, as ſoon as you ſet your feet on Saxon ground. One need only look round to be convinced that the conſtitution of Saxony is infinitely more favourable to induſtry and agriculture than that of Bohemia. The Saxon farmer ſhews more underſtanding and reflection in the management of his land than the Bohemian one does, and every thing about him atteſts that he is no ſlave.

Dreſden has a proud appearance, and offers on all ſides a magnificent object; it is beyond all compariſon the fineſt city which I have yet ſeen in Germany. The houſes are built in a much better taſte than thoſe of Vienna, and the eye is quite dazzled with the long and magnificent appearance of the bridge over the Elbe. This river, which at ſome diſtance from the city is confined within very narrow bounds, widens by degrees as you approach, and is here a powerful ſtream, which beſpeaks all the magnificence of the town and ſtate. The hills oppoſite to the *Lawſniſs* have a moſt magnificent appearance, and the mountains on both ſides

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the river, partly naked and partly planted with vineyards, form an uncommonly beautiful perſpective.

The manners and way of living of theſe people is as oppoſite to what I have hitherto ſeen in Germany, as the beauty of theſe ſtreets, and the taſte diſplayed in the buildings, is different from Suabia, Bavaria, Auſtria, and Bohemia. Finer ſhapes, more animated countenances, eaſier and leſs conſtrained motions, general courteſy, univerſal cleanlineſs, are the features which immediately offer themſelves to obſervation, and muſt ſtrike every one who comes into this country by the ſame route which I purſued.

It was in an unfortunate moment that the fortifications about this town were firſt built, but it is more unfortunate ſtill, that inſtead of pulling them entirely down, thoſe who are concerned are at this inſtant employed in repairing them. Commanded as this city is, from every ſide, and with no reaſonable expectations, in its preſent ſituation, of ever being able to preſerve a neutrality on the breaking out of any war betwixt the king of Pruſſia and the Auſtrians, it is more than any other in danger of being plundered and laid waſte. Indeed one would have imagined that the devaſtations of the years 1758 and 1760,

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were ſtill freſh enough in every man's memory to have been a warning to the regency.

The town does not ſeem to be peopled in proportion to the quantity of ground it ſtands on. The number of inhabitants is generally eſtimated at fifty thouſand, which many think too high. The fact is, that it has loſt a third of its inhabitants ſince the breaking out of the laſt Sileſian war, and the death of king Auguſtus.

The ſtrangers who knew this city before this æra, cannot ſay enough of the difference there now is, a difference not ſo much ariſing from the misfortunes of war, as from the œconomy of the court, which has followed cloſe on the diſſipation of other times. In the late elector's time, this court was perhaps the moſt brilliant in Europe. The court band of muſic, the opera, and the dancers alone, were ſuppoſed to coſt the Elector annually 300,000 Saxon guilders, or upwards of 780,000 French livres. His table, his ſtables, and his hunters, were all in the ſame ſtyle of expence. Strangers uſed to flow hither from all countries, to be partakers in this magnificence, and Dreſden was the rendezvous of the north for taſte and refined living. The numerous followers of the court, and the great number of ſtrangers, occaſioned a very extenſive

extenſive circulation of money, and made all the arts alive. In the midſt of this profuſion debts were contracted, but they gave the Elector little concern, as is evident from the following anecdote. One night at the opera, having a fire-work, which was part of the decoration of a temple, and uſed to coſt ſeveral hundred thalers, he called for his chamberlain, and deſired to know the reaſon of the omiſſion; the chamberlain told him, that the heathen gods and goddeſſes muſt for this night be contented with a fire of twenty or thirty guilders, as there was no money left in the treaſury to pay for any thing more ſplendid. The Elector was compelled to acquieſce for the moment, as it was too late for him to do otherwiſe, but he gave ſtrict orders, that in the next repreſentation, and in every ſucceeding one, the whole ſum of thalers ſhould be burnt out. A court which is mounted on this *ton* is ſeldom poſſeſſed of a firm and ſound government.

The miniſters were dazzled, like the Elector, with outſide ſhew and ſplendour; they wanted to give themſelves airs of conſequence, and embarked in enterprizes to which the impoveriſhed ſtate of the country was not equal; the reſult was, that they got into a confuſion which prevented them from knowing either their own ſtrength,

ſtrength, or that of the other powers they had to contend with. Univerſal diſſipation produced falſehood, treachery, and every other vice; the moſt important poſts were ſold, or given to flattery and intrigue; one was made a privy-counſellor, becauſe he danced well, and another a general, becauſe he could blow the flute. I need not add, that women are ultimately the grand movers of the politics of ſuch a court.

It is generally agreed on, that the Elector himſelf loved ſhew and expence more than he did women; but the ſcandalous chronicle of his court goes beyond all that has ever been heard of the kind, and his love of ſhew encouraged, at leaſt, if it did not produce, the diſſoluteneſs of his ſubjects. Amidſt the intoxication of proſperity, the miniſter adopted a plan of operations it was impoſſible he ſhould ſee the end of, and which left him at the diſcretion of the more powerful monarch, with whom he entered into a league againſt a dangerous neighbour. This was probably one of the moſt impolitic treaties which hiſtory has to recount. The Saxons entered into an alliance with Ruſſia, which was ſo formidable to Poland; they attached themſelves to Auſtria, which without them was ſtronger than the king of Pruſſia; and they endeavoured

deavoured to weaken the power of this laſt named monarch, who was able to maintain the balance of power in Germany. In all theſe three things they broke through the firſt maxim of a nation, which is in the midſt of others, never to take the part of the ſtrongeſt, but always that of the weakeſt. A miniſter whoſe preparatives were ſo weak, could not be expected to do much when he came to action. The king of Pruſſia fell upon the country as Charles XII. had fallen upon Poland, under Auguſtus the Second. The army, which was ſeventeen thouſand men ſtrong, and which was expected to do ſuch mighty things, ſurrendered without ſtriking a ſtroke, and no wonder, for ſome of the colonels were eunuchs.

This total rout by degrees waked the genius of Saxony from his ſlumbers; all the gentry of the country, excepting only the creatures of the miniſter, were in a flame; and now there was a chorus of creditors and complainants of all orders, who made a horrid diſſonance with the Bacchanalian revels of former days.

All the world gave the country over for loſt, nor could it have been ſaved but for the free courſe given to the extraordinary ſpirit of frugality and induſtry, which marks the people; and for a miniſter, who was as active and patriotic

as the other had been diſſolute and cowardly. In one of my future letters I will give you an exact account of the preſent ſtate of the country.

One of the wonders which makes the moſt noiſe here, is the celebrated *green vault*, or private treaſury, in the electoral palace. You would naturally imagine they would be ſhy of ſhewing it to ſtrangers, till what was carried to Holland and ſold there during the laſt Sileſian war was replaced; no ſuch thing, they made no difficulties whatever, but the man who ſhewed it me, and two Ruſſian noblemen in my company, aſſured me, that things were exactly in *ſtatu quo*. The collection, after all, is ſtill admirable; I am, however, of opinion, that the treaſures of Vienna and Munich are but little inferior; and I am much deceived, if thoſe of ſome cathedrals I have ſeen are not fully equal. The picture gallery, the collection of antiques, the prints, and the collection of natural hiſtory, are much greater objects of curioſity, in my eyes, than the *green vault*. The picture gallery is the moſt remarkable in Europe; beſides the pictures in water-colours, it contains twelve hundred pieces of the beſt maſters. Amongſt them is the famous birth of Chriſt, commonly called *The Nativity*, by Corregio, which paſſes for the beſt work of that maſter;

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it coſt above half a million of livres. Some perſons, however, prefer *The St. George*, likewiſe by Corregio; this ought properly to be called *The Virgin*, for ſhe is the principal figure in the piece, and the St. George, with other ſaints, is ſtanding about her. The gallery contains ſeveral pieces by Carrachi, amongſt which is his beſt work; it is a St. Roch giving alms; this picture is known in Italy by the name of *Opera dell' Elemoſina.*

LETTER XLII.

Dreſden.

THE longer I ſtay here, my deareſt brother, the more I think myſelf at home; the manners, way of living, amuſements, converſation, and, in ſhort, all that belongs to the inhabitants of this place, make me think myſelf at Paris. I only wiſh that our ladies, both married and unmarried, were as freſh and as handſome as the ladies of this place are. I recollect that an Auſtrian lady made the following anſwer to a gentleman who was extolling the Saxon women in her company. 'Give us only,' ſaid ſhe, 'as handſome and ſtrong-built men, 'as the Saxons are, and we will take care of 'the reſt.'

Eating and drinking do not go forwards here, quite ſo briſkly as in the ſouthern parts of Germany; in this reſpect, indeed, the difference betwixt the Saxons and Germans I have hitherto lived with is total. The broth here is ſo thin, the cookery ſometimes ſo cold, and always ſo ſlender, that I do not believe an inhabitant of

Vienna

Vienna could make ſhift to live a month with a family in the middling ranks of life here. Indeed I have had occaſion to obſerve, even in the very beſt houſes, an attention to the cellar and kitchen, which in Auſtria and Bavaria would paſs for poverty.

This rigid œconomy extends to every article of houſekeeping. The only appearance of expence is in the article of dreſs; this, indeed, is carried farther here, than it is in the ſouth of Germany. Every perſon in the middling rank of life, I might add in the lower ones too, men, as well as women, dreſs according to the faſhion; whereas at Vienna, Munich, and other places I have viſited, there is a kind of national dreſs, which perſons even of a better kind conform to.

I lodge at a watchmaker's, whoſe two daughters have their regular *toilettes*, and have their hair dreſſed every day; on the other hand, they content themſelves with a ſlice of bread and butter, or bread and cheeſe for ſupper, which I often partake of with them. There are hardly three noblemen's houſes here which have ſtables with twenty horſes in them; and porters, *valets de chambres*, &c. which make ſo great an object at Vienna, are very ſcarce. It is true, they call a footman here *valet de chambre*, as they do at

Paris, but the wages of a Vienna *valet de chambre* are twice as high as thoſe of a Dreſden one, though living at Vienna is as cheap again.—Here the women are not aſhamed to go into their kitchens, tell out their candles and bits of candles, and calculate how long they will burn. In a word, excepting only the article of dreſs, every thing is in a ſtyle of the ſtricteſt œconomy.

There are very few rich people here; hardly any of the nobility have more than 30,000 florins a year, and moſt of the beſt houſes have only from 15 to 20,000. As to the common people, they are always crying out on the want of money, the dearneſs of proviſions, and the little that is to be got here by induſtry; and, if they compare things as they are now, with what they were under the late Elector, they have certainly ſome reaſon for their complaints, but I know no city in Germany, where there is ſuch a general appearance of eaſe and plenty as there is here; extreme poverty is as rare as overgrown fortunes. The money in circulation is for the moſt part thrown into motion by the induſtry of the people, a thing which, more than any thing elſe, diſtinguiſhes this place from Vienna and Munich, which ſubſiſt only by the expences of the court, and the vices of the nobility.

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This ſingle town contains more manufacturers and uſeful artiſts than all Bavaria. They make a large quantity of ſerges, woollen, and ſilk cloths, &c. with which they carry on a great trade all through Germany. As the money is got by ſuch hard labour, it is not matter of wonder that they ſhould be ſparing of it.

The circumſtances which the country was in during the reign of the late Elector, are by no means the moſt favourable to political proſperity. They remind one of a body which takes too much food and too little exerciſe, for the fluids to be equally diſtributed through the ſeveral canals. Some of the inhabitants of the place, with whom I have talked on the ſubject, have been forced to allow, that even during the time in which the court was in its greateſt ſplendour, there was much more poverty amongſt the lower claſſes than there is at preſent. The prodigality of the higher orders had tainted their inferiors, and the eaſe with which it was to be got leſſened the value of money in the eyes of the poſſeſſors. The greateſt part of it went to foreigners, without firſt circulating, as it ſhould have done, amongſt the natives. Flatterers, pimps, whores, projectors, dancers, ſingers, and the like, divided the booty of the court amongſt them, and carried the greateſt part of it out of

the country; only thoſe who were near the court partook in any conſiderable degree of the ſpoils; the remainder was loſt in ſo many narrow channels, that the greateſt part of the people never got a ſhare of it. Indeed, Munich is a viſible inſtance, in our own day, how little even the moſt unlimited paſſion of a court for pleaſure and expence can contribute to the well-being and true happineſs of the inhabitants of a great city. I am ready, however, to allow, that there is leſs mirth here than there was formerly; at leaſt it is certain, that the natural good-humour and joviality, which nature has given to theſe people, is often clouded over with a certain melancholy; this may be occaſioned, as at Paris, by the recollection of their great debts, but I rather think it is owing to their uncommon and extraordinary œconomy, and the reſtraint this throws on the freedom of their minds. It is, however, certainly in conſequence of this provident caſt, that there is more true pleaſure to be met with here than in any town of Germany I have hitherto viſited. The people of Vienna and Munich know no other delight than to fill their paunches, divert themſelves with the nonſenſe of a harlequin, and play at nine pins. All the gardens of the inns of Vienna are laid out in bowling-greens; I reckoned twenty

twenty of them in one garden. Here they know how to mix intellectual pleaſures with ſenſual ones. They, like us, are in the habit of making ſmall country parties, and have a taſte for the various beauties of nature: even amongſt the middling ranks, there is a taſte for the fine arts, and reading is almoſt univerſal; nor is the latter, as in the ſouthern parts of Germany, confined within the narrow bounds of plays and romances, but it extends to good books of hiſtory, morality, and other important ſubjects. The ſociety of nobles have a reader with a title and appointments. I think Mr. Pilati's obſervation of the difference there is betwixt the Proteſtant and Catholic parts of Germany in this reſpect a very juſt one: he ſays, that the young men of twenty in the former know more than many old literati by profeſſion do in the latter. The difference ſtruck me ſo much, that I felt as if I had juſt come out of Spain into France. All that they are endeavouring with ſo much clatter to introduce into the ſchools of Vienna, ſeems to have been done here ſome generations ago. A few days ſince, I viſited a ſchool in a village at a little diſtance from the town, and found more order and real inſtruction in it, than in the beſt ſchools at Vienna. The moſt ordinary people here diſplay

in every thing a nice acquaintance with whatever regards good manners, and the conduct of ſocial life. In the ſouthern parts of the country, excepting only a ſmall ſtrip of Suabia, a common citizen is a ſtranger in his own circle, and thinks of nothing in the courſe of the week, but how to guttle on the Sunday.

The contraſt betwixt the women of the two countries is equally ſtriking. Thoſe of the ſouthern parts of Germany have nothing but their beauty, but theſe have beauty and animation too. They appear, however, ſoon to fade, and I ſaw few women paſt thirty, in whom the marks of old age were not apparent. Poſſibly this may be owing in ſome degree to their extreme vivacity; but I ſhould rather think it owing to the ſlender nouriſhment, joined to their great labour, and the weight of their domeſtic cares. The Bavarian women perhaps excel thoſe of Dreſden in complexion, but the latter are much better made, and their countenances are much more intereſting.

The theatres here are in the ſame ſtate as all other public amuſements which require expence. The inhabitants are too œconomical to pay for an entertainment, which the court formerly gave them for nothing, and the loſs of which is eaſily made up for by the charms of their private ſocieties.

cieties. A few years ago, there was one of the beſt company of comedians in all Germany here; the manager, Mr. Seiler, had no ſettled abode, but uſed to viſit the fair of Leipſick, and the other neighbouring cities, where he got together all the actors he could pick up from different parts of the world, ſo that his company was at one time ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſtrong. He gave uncommon ſalaries for the maſter of a ſtrolling company to give. Madam Helmett, one of the beſt ſingers in Germany, and now firſt ſinger to the court of Mentz, had 2000 thalers, near 200l. a year from him; at that time, however, he could eaſily afford to do theſe things, as no people in Germany were more attached to theatrical amuſements, than the people of Leipſick and thoſe of Dreſden.—But theſe times are gone by, and their being ſo, convinces me that the people of this place have ſounder heads than thoſe of Vienna, Munich, and other places.—Mr. Seiler has latterly met with ſo little encouragement here, that after having contracted debt upon debt, and tried his fortune on the Rhine, in the end he is become a bankrupt. At preſent the court has a national theatre on the ſame plan with that of Vienna; that is, it pays the expences and takes the receipts; theſe laſt, however, are not very conſiderable,

owing

owing to the frugality of the people, ſo that it is probable this theatre will ceaſe as the court theatre did at the beginning of the Bavarian war. Private theatres, eſpecially thoſe where children are the actors, flouriſh much more here than the national one does.

One of the moſt honourable and beautiful characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhes the Saxons from the inhabitants of the ſouth of Germany, is their warm attachment for their native country, and the intereſt they take in every thing that relates to it; even far down in the middling ranks, every body here ſeems acquainted with the circumſtances of both court and country: it was here that I heard, for the firſt time, the words *my country* pronounced with energy, and a kind of intelligent and honourable pride. The ladies of the place uſe their gallantry as ours do, as a ſpur to make the men do their duty; they bear a ſhare in converſation on war, treaties, and every buſineſs of ſtate; they love their officers and ſoldiers, and ſpeak with pleaſure of the actions in which they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The younger officers recommend themſelves to them by aſſuming a military air, which, in my opinion, is unbecoming. Whenever they happen to mention the miniſters who betrayed their country, it is always

always with contempt and abhorrence.—Though the king of Pruſſia has not done much to gain their affections, they ſpeak with wonder of his great actions, and think, with all mankind, that it would have been better for all parties if they had attached themſelves to him, inſtead of uniting with the Auſtrians, towards whom, the perſon of the preſent Emperor alone excepted, every body ſhews great animoſity, notwithſtanding all that the country has ſuffered from the king of Pruſſia. In a word, brother, it is as if I was at home, where a participation in the common intereſts of the country animates every ſociety, and is the life and ſoul of all company.

The Saxon troops have a very martial appearance; they are not, however, ſo well diſciplined as the Auſtrian or Pruſſian ones, nor yet ſo ſtiff; they are like the Engliſh, who are only ſoldiers when they are in action, and do not trouble themſelves much about the buſineſs at other times. They are as brave as any thing you can call brave, but at this time of day, bravery alone is not ſufficient. They tell you a ſtory of them, which would appear ridiculous, perhaps, in the eyes of a Pruſſian or Auſtrian commander, but which muſt recommend them to a friend of human nature, and a citizen of the

world. The officers of a Saxon regiment of dragoons, which made part of the army that fought againſt Prince Henry of Pruſſia in Bohemia, took an oath, *ſub dio*, that they would put to death any of their number who ſhould run away in action.

Of late there is a project ſet on foot to put the army, which conſiſts of twenty-five thouſand men, upon the ſame footing as the Pruſſian one, but hitherto the reform has not gone very deep; and, for my own part, I believe it to be as mad a ſcheme, as it would be to attempt making an Engliſh army adopt Pruſſian tactics,

LETTER

LETTER XLIII.

Dreſden.

IT is owing to the conſtitution of the country, that the Saxons are poſſeſſed of a quite different ſpirit from that of the Bavarians or Auſtrians. The power of the Elector is more limited than that of any other ſovereign in Germany. The Saxon ſtates have had ſpirit enough to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their rights, which moſt of the ſtates belonging to other countries have loſt, more through their own negligence and cowardice than by the deſpotiſm of the princes.

The court cannot make the ſmalleſt law without the conſent of the ſtates; theſe are made up of three orders, the abbots of *Merſeburg*, *Meiſen*, and *Naunburg*, as repreſentatives of the clergy; the count *Schwartzburg*, *Solms*, *Stollburg*, and *Schomburg*, as the repreſentatives of the higher nobility, and the univerſities of Leipſick, and Wirtemberg, compoſe the firſt; the ſecond conſiſts of the gentry belonging to the ſeven circles of the empire; the number of theſe is uncertain. A member of this body, beſides eight quarters of nobility on the ſide of both father

father and mother, muſt poſſeſs a freehold eſtate; but if, which is often the caſe, he has even three or four of them, he has only a ſingle vote; ſo that the exerciſe of the office is more attached to the perſon than the property. The repreſentatives of the towns, in number one hundred and two, form the third order. The general aſſemblies meet only every ſix years, but there is a deputation, which commonly aſſembles every two years, to conſider of all the extraordinary caſes that come before it. Theſe ſtates do not only direct the levy of taxes, and attend to the payment of debts, but they watch over *fidei commiſſa*, the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed religion, the non-alienation of the electoral lands, and various other matters. The conſtitution of the *Lawſniſs* is the ſame in every reſpect.

The payment of the debts is what gives them the moſt employment; the whole of theſe amount to twenty-ſix millions of thalers, of Saxon money, or ſomething more than 2,600,000 pounds. They pay every year about 1,200,000 guilders, or 154,100 pounds.

If you add to this, three and a half per cent. of intereſt, it will be a long time before the debt is paid.

But notwithſtanding this, the ſtate treaſury is in very good credit, as it is ſecure from all

manœuvres

manœuvres of the court, and diſtinguiſhed by the moſt exact rectitude: when the country was almoſt exhauſted by the diſtreſſes of the laſt war, and its credit much impaired, the bills fell conſiderably; this gave riſe to the ſpeculations of ſome foreign and domeſtic merchants, who bought up the bills at a low price. Three years, however, were not elapſed before it became viſible that the country had ſufficient reſources, and the paper roſe to its original value. Moſt of the ſpeculators gained from 50 to 60 per cent. The wonderful alteration ſtruck the merchants of Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, and Holland, and the ſtates proceeded to pay the remainder of the debts, which by this manœuvre had been already in a great degree diſcharged by their ſubjects.

The revenue of the country amounts to about 6,200,000 thalers, or about 620,000 pounds. The taxes are all appropriated by the ſtates to ſpecific purpoſes; nor can the Elector make any alteration in the deſtination of them without their conſent. He has his own privy purſe, to the ſupply of which particular revenues are alſo appropriated. The ſtates have agreed, that the army ſhall be increaſed in the ſame proportion as the debts leſſen. Each prince of the blood has a revenue of 50,000 thalers, or about

about 5000l. which, as the preſent family is exceeding numerous, is a conſiderable article.—The Imperial court conſidered it as a great act of condeſcenſion, to ſuffer a Saxon prince of this court to marry the archdutcheſs Chriſtina; but the Saxons tell you, that great as the honour was, it would have been ſtill greater, if the magnificence of the Imperial court had enabled the duke of Saxe Teſchen to do without this allowance.

There are few countries in Germany, which, in proportion to the ſize of it, produce as good a revenue as Saxony. It is true, that the taxes are very high, but there are few other countries who have ſtrength enough to bear ſuch; and as the exchequer is in the hands of true patriots, and effectually ſecured againſt any attempts of the court, what is paid is ſure to be employed to the beſt advantage of the country.

There is nothing more ſtriking in the political world, than the difference betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. Both countries are of an equal ſize, and enjoy an equal number of natural advantages. Both have alſo a conſtitution, only the Bavarians have of late years ſold, and even paid away their privileges; both are parts of a circle, and yet the firſt contains eighteen large, and two hundred and ſix ſmall towns; whereas the

the latter has only forty in all, amongſt which there is not one, Munich only excepted, that is to be compared, I do not ſay in riches, but in population, with the ſmalleſt of the eighteen Saxon towns; and there are at leaſt fifty out of the two hundred and ſix ſmall Saxon towns, which are richer than the richeſt of the Bavarian ones. Saxony has one million nine hundred thouſand; Bavaria, one million one hundred and eighty thouſand inhabitants. The firſt raiſes above eleven millions of guilders; the latter not more than ſix millions. Saxony has a much greater debt, but the debt is in the way to be paid, and the country was able to raiſe twenty thouſand men to join the Pruſſian army in reſcuing Bavaria from the Houſe of Auſtria; whilſt Bavaria could only raiſe ſix thouſand men, in order to have the appearance of entering a proteſtation againſt the Auſtrian pretenſions, and its debts remain unpaid.

It is not uncommon in Germany to aſcribe theſe political differences to the difference of religion; but why then does not the ſame religion produce the ſame effects in France, Tuſcany, Genoa, Venice, the Imperial Netherlands, and Auſtria, all which are flouriſhing countries, notwithſtanding that the inhabitants are not Proteſtants? Shall we ſay, that the catholiciſm of Ba-

varia is of a better kind for the purpoſes of theology, and of a worſe for thoſe of politics? or that the fault lies chiefly in the government, which has the ſame influence on religion as the air has on the barometer? Religious enthuſiaſm is not of itſelf hurtful to induſtry and ſocial virtues, as is evident by the example of the Engliſh independants and Quakers, who are active and alert enough, notwithſtanding their religious creed. No religion neceſſarily requires a corruption of manners, wantonneſs, or lazineſs. When, therefore, a religion proves hurtful to the ſtate, it ariſes from the mode of education, the manners, the government, and other local circumſtances. Under a weak adminiſtration religion breaks out into abuſe, from the intereſted views of its miniſters, and the folly and ſtupidity of the people; but every other human inſtitution does the ſame; ſo that I believe every religion, like every government, to be good, when it is well adminiſtered. A wiſe and efficient regency is omnipotent; and the example of Peter the Great has ſhewn clearly enough, that a wiſe man may make every religion contribute to render a ſtate flouriſhing. With reſpect to opinions, the religion of the multitude is nearly alike in all places. It

almoſt

almoſt univerſally conſiſts in a blind ſubmiſſion to the authority of the prieſt. I have ſeen enough to convince me of this, in ſome Proteſtant countries, which paſs for the moſt enlightened in religious matters. The great difference betwixt mankind, that by which ſome are made good and others bad citizens, depends upon the morals, which are a conſequence of the education, and with which religious *opinions* have little to do. I ſhall make you underſtand my ſentiments on this ſubject better in my next letter, in which I mean to ſay ſomething of the reformation, but, in the mean time, I cannot help communicating ſome remarks I have made upon the ſubject in my journey through Germany, as they ſerve to illuſtrate my poſition.

In almoſt all the Catholic ſtates I have travelled through, I have met with Italians who were moſt of them in affluence. All theſe came beggars into Germany, and have made their fortunes in a foreign country, without any domeſtic aſſiſtance whatſoever. It is not more than thirty or forty years ago, that almoſt all the rich merchants in the middling and leſſer ſtates of Germany were Italians. I think this ſufficient to prove, that the induſtry and frugality by which theſe people have made their fortunes, are no

attributes of a particular mode of religion, but ariſe from circumſtances in the local character, which moſtly takes its colour from education. The frugal, deep-thinking, and induſtrious *Walſhes* have *capital* ſufficient in their character, eaſily to gain an advantage in the management of worldly matters, over the lazy, diſſipated, and ſtupid German Roman Catholics, though the religion of both be the ſame. I have ſpoken with ſome of theſe Italian *parvenus*, who complained bitterly, that it was much more difficult to make a fortune in Germany now than it had formerly been. No doubt, but that this is owing to a much better mode of education having been introduced by the government amongſt the people with whom they have do. Is there any man, who is not aſtoniſhed at the different degrees of induſtry which prevail among the Italians themſelves? and yet they all have the ſame religion.—There is, perhaps, leſs ſuperſtition at Rome, than in any part of the Roman Catholic world; but are the Romans therefore more induſtrious than the Genoeſe, who are the groſſeſt bigots known? Mind, I am not ſpeaking of the diſcipline of the church, nor of the riches of the cloyſters, nor yet of *Annates*, *Palliums*, diſpenſations, and other popiſh tributes, nor even of the uſurpation of the ſpiritual power and the like, all of which may

may be very hurtful to a ſtate, but do not belong to the eſſence of religion. The diſpute is only on the influence which ſpeculative opinions have on the induſtry of men. In my opinion they have none. It is an obſervation every day made, that a man may be the moſt ſuperſtitious of mortals in ſome things, and yet the ſharpeſt and moſt clear-ſighted of all mankind in others; nor are the Saxons, according to my way of thinking, indebted to their more philoſophical religion, for the greater degree of happineſs they enjoy as citizens.

The religion of the court of this place is not well calculated to leſſen the prejudices of the Saxon public againſt Catholiciſm. It is formed upon the Jeſuit plan, and I have already told you, that the German Jeſuits are of all monks the greateſt. I was told an anecdote, which is certainly true, and does the court eccleſiaſtics no great honour. At the beginning of the preſent reign, the Jeſuits were afraid that the ſovereign might change the national religion; for, beſides that he was at that time very young; he loved his people, and had had overtures made him on the ſubject. The Electreſs too, a very penetrating, and, in every reſpect, amiable woman, was much diſſatisfied with the Jeſuits. To prevent

innovations, a ſpectre appeared to the duke, and after having threatened him with all the torments of hell-fire, if he ventured to make the purpoſed change, forbad him to ſay any thing of what had happened, and promiſed to return again at a certain period. The duke was very penſive for ſome time, at length his wife, who loved him as he deſerved, wrung the ſecret from him, and told it to the prince of . . . . . who waited for the ſpirit on the appointed night, and put him to death with his Spaniſh toledo. The following day he came into company and ſaid, 'I have 'ſaved myſelf the payment of 500 thalers, by 'accidentally killing my confeſſor.'

Notwithſtanding his little tinge of German jeſuitiſm, the Elector is a moſt amiable prince; he knows none of the vices, which princes who are obliged to truſt the greateſt part of their buſineſs to their miniſters, generally addict themſelves to. He has alſo underſtanding and activity ſufficient to form a right judgment of important affairs, which he often carries through entirely, either by his perſonal exertions, or the orders he gives for the purpoſe. All his miniſters likewiſe are men who deſerve his confidence. They are well informed and induſtrious patriots, who, both with regard to foreign affairs and internal

adminiſtration,

adminiſtration, follow a uniform ſyſtem, a thing, amongſt many others, by which they diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Bavarian miniſters. Their entering into the Bavarian war, as they did ſome years ago, was a certain proof of their not being wanting in ſpirit, though their hands were ſomewhat cramped by the internal circumſtances of the country. When once the money, which now goes towards diſcharging the intereſt and principal of the debts, can be applied to the augmentation of the army, and the court is enabled to make uſe of its whole ſtrength, no doubt the miniſter will take other ground than that he now ſtands upon. The country will then be in a ſtate to keep up an army of forty or fifty thouſand men, without any uncommon exertion, and of courſe will be always able to maintain a neutrality. As things are now circumſtanced, it muſt neceſſarily take a ſide, and attach itſelf either to Pruſſia or Auſtria. As long as the peace laſts, it gives equal hopes to both ſides; but, in caſe of a breach, it will, in my opinion, incline rather to the Pruſſian than the Auſtrian party, not merely on account of the attempts which the Auſtrians are daily making to enſlave the empire, and the weight which their enormous power gives to thoſe attempts, but be-

cauſe the Saxons, on their part, have many private reaſons for being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Imperial court towards them.

The difference there is betwixt the religion of the prince and that of the people, has no effect on the national buſineſs. It is not therefore probable that this court will ever ſacrifice its religion to its temporal intereſts, as Auguſtus did when he aſcended the throne of Poland, if they ſhould come into competition.

In Germany religion is naturally various. The houſe of Wirtemberg has every ſect of Chriſtendom in it. The family of prince Frederick Eugene is Lutheran; the great dutcheſs has embraced the Greek religion, and the bride of the hereditary prince of Tuſcany will, no doubt, turn Catholic. As there are likewiſe princeſſes of Brandenburg in this houſe, it has alſo a mixture of Calviniſm in it. Certainly this is the ſureſt way to ſpread toleration throughout Europe, and the friends of mankind are much indebted to the princes of Germany for it. With reſpect to the Saxons, if the reigning monarch were a prince of leſs ſenſe than he is, they are perfectly ſafe from the fear of all religious perſecutions. The ſtates have ſo limited his power in this reſpect, as to oblige him to have only two

Catholic

Catholic privy counſellors. This is the reaſon why, notwithſtanding the animoſity of the Saxons againſt the Catholics, which is much greater than moſt people imagine, they have a great affection for their prince.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

Leipſick.

SAXONY is a princely country, brother. I have taken a conſiderable tour, and have come hither through the *Ertzgeberg*, over Freyberg, Marienberg, Annaberg, and then over Swickau, and Altenburg. One would imagine that the number of hills which border Bohemia muſt be entirely undermined. There are pits upon pits dug in them, and all the valleys reſound with hammers. A more induſtrious people than the Saxons I have not yet ſeen. The whole chain of mountains is filled with men, who force their nouriſhment from the naked woods. They not only work ſtones and minerals in every poſſible way you can conceive, but every town has beſides ſome manufacture of linen, lace, ribbands, cotton, handkerchiefs, flannel, or ſomething elſe, which takes up an innumerable quantity of hands. When faſhion, or the caprice of their neighbours, ruin one manufactory, they have always ten others to ſet up to make up for the loſs.

Freyberg

Freyberg contains upwards of twenty-five thouſand, and Swickau upwards of fifteen thouſand inhabitants. The other cities I ſaw are like the market towns, uncommonly populous and animated.—The ſame induſtry and eaſy circumſtances are met with on the other ſide of the Elbe, throughout the Lauſits, whither I made an excurſion from Dreſden. Bauſſen, Gorliſs, and Zittaw, are ſtately cities, full of trade and buſineſs. What a contraſt with the ſouthern parts of Germany! an immenſe tract, throughout the whole of which I did not ſee a ſingle place, excepting the reſidence of the court, and ſome Imperial cities, which could bear a compariſon with any of theſe Saxon towns.—You would imagine that the Ertzgeberg and foreſt of Thuringia, had been ſet by Providence as the limits betwixt light and darkneſs, induſtry and lazineſs, freedom and ſlavery, riches and poverty. Poſſibly you cannot find in the whole world ſo ſtrong a contraſt betwixt two people, who are ſo near each other, as there is between the Saxons and Bohemians; and yet nature has done infinitely more for the laſt than ſhe has for the firſt.

The mines are an inexhauſtible ſource of riches to this country; they almoſt all belong to companies of private men. The works are divided into

into certain portions, part of which the company works free of coſts for the court, which receives what is got from them. The revenue of the court, from all the mines of the country, is eſtimated at 400,000 guilders, which is hardly a fifth part of what they produce. A ſtill much more conſiderable ſum is gained by manufacturing the produce, as very little of it is exported raw. The Saxons prepare ſteel and copper, and have a great number of gold and ſilver manufactories. The Saxon arms are known all over the world.

The Saxons have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſkill in mining all over Europe. It is ſpoken of even by Spaniſh and Neapolitan writers. Their ſtrong bodies, their indefatigable induſtry, and their good underſtanding, particularly qualify them for this kind of employment, which is undoubtedly the moſt complicated and laborious of all human occupations, and which requires the greateſt variety of knowledge to bring to perfection. In my opinion, mining is one of the ſtrong characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhes the Germans, particularly the Saxons, from our countrymen. The Frenchman, though much quicker, is eaſily conquered by difficulties, is diſpirited when the firſt heat does not get the better

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of the oppoſition, is fond of changing the object of his purſuit, is deſirous of getting a great deal at once, in a word, is only adapted to enterprizes, which require a quick comprehenſive genius and readineſs; he is conſequently much leſs fit for this work, than the cold, penſive, inquiſitive, penetrating, perſevering, and indefatigable German, who can employ himſelf in the moſt unthankful offices without being weary. No doubt, there are many valuable mines in the French dominions. Every body knows the projects of Colbert and his ſucceſſors. They have been taken up again in our own time by M. Turgot; but the genius of the nation has hitherto counteracted every effort of the kind that has been made.

The inhabitants of the ſmalleſt villages in the Saxon mountains, though often ſhut out from the world by hills on each ſide, are more poliſhed, better bred, and more alive, than thoſe of the largeſt towns in the ſouth of Germany.

Reading is almoſt univerſal in this country; ſociability and hoſpitality accompany and encourage the hardeſt labour; even the ſocieties of the inferior ranks are diſtinguiſhed by the liberality, knowledge of the world, wit, and jollity to be met with in them. The women are throughout remarkable for the beauty of their ſhapes,

ſhapes, the animation of their looks, and their infinite ſpirit, eaſe, and vivacity, and yet they are quite good natured, and admirable houſe-wifes. The men have of late, indeed, began to complain a little, that, for ſome time paſt, their beautiful partners have been too much addicted to vanity; but their clamours would ſoon ceaſe, if the women were to unite and make a law, that every eighth or tenth man ſhould take an Auſtrian or Bavarian wife, for the edification of the whole community. For my own part, the article of dreſs alone excepted, I have not been able to diſcover a ſingle excreſcence which wants pruning; whereas the Bavarian and Auſtrian women, beſides being full as fond of dreſs, break out a little both at bed and board, and do not concern themſelves at all with domeſtic matters.

The uncommonly large population of this country expoſes the inhabitants to no ſmall diſtreſs in times of ſcarcity. The land does not produce a tenth part of the grain neceſſary for the conſumption of the people, who are obliged to ſupply their wants from Bohemia. The univerſal ſcarcity which prevailed in Europe nine or ten years ago, was no where more ſeverely felt than here. Many thouſands died, a part through abſolute want, and a part from being

ing obliged to eat bad proviſions. Great numbers were indebted for their lives to the free-maſon's lodges at Dreſden, Leipſick, Fridburg, and other places, the members of which did an incredible deal for the relief of the neceſſities of their brethren. If any country ſtands in need of granaries, it is this. As ſoon as the ſmalleſt ſcarcity is perceived, the exportation from the neighbouring countries is ſtopped up, and the Saxon plains are too much peopled eaſily to bear the loſs of their harveſt. Government has made ſome regulations; but in the preſent ſtate of the finances of the country, it is impoſſible that it ſhould do as much as would be requiſite to ſecure the inhabitants of the mountains againſt every event.

Conſpicuous as the induſtry and commerce of this people is, the ſituation of the farmer amongſt them is in all reſpects pitiable. The fault, however, is in the conſtitution of the country, not in the inhabitants, who are a frank, diligent, and intelligent people. No doubt, but the diſtreſs is owing to the quantity of land in the hands of great farmers. Along the foot of the Ertzgeberg mountain, and in the plain, you can hardly count the ſteeples, which you ſee on all ſides of you. The number of villages in the Electoral territory, taking in the *Lauſits*, is near

ſix thouſand. I ſaw ſeveral farmers who plough-ed with one ox and one cow. Many of them have only one cow, which furniſhes them with milk, and likewiſe ſerves them to plough with. It is true, indeed, that the fine and light ſoil of this part of the world requires, in general, no uncommon exertion; but it is impoſſible that a farmer ſhould do well with ſo little cattle. You eaſily diſcover in their houſekeeping, that they are obliged to cut very cloſe. Great part of them live upon potatoes, cabbage, and turnips, and you very ſeldom ſee meat at their tables. Their attachment to coffee is extremely great; it is the only nouriſhment of ſome of them; and the profuſe uſe they make of it, is a ſtrong contraſt with their penuriouſneſs in other reſpects. It is made in large pots, but is ſo weak as to have hardly the colour of the berry. Moſt likely they conſider it as the cheapeſt and moſt ſtrengthening of liquors. Their cleanlineſs in the midſt of their poverty is remarkable.—The Suabian farmers are lords, in compariſon with thoſe of Saxony, and, on the whole, the happieſt I have yet ſeen.

Throughout the whole level country, even the common people ſpeak good German, and ſo, excepting in the mountains, do all the farmers. There is no province in France of a like extent,

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in which the people throughout ſpeak French as well as the Saxons do German. Some miles from Leipſick I viſited a gentleman, for whom I had letters from Dreſden, on his eſtate. I thought myſelf come to a ſchool of paſtoral felicity, and I ſhall ever look upon the few days I ſpent with him as ſome of the happieſt of my life. The eſtates of theſe gentlemen are ſmall, as the Saxon nobility in general are as poor as they are numerous; but it is to this very poverty that they owe their happineſs. They underſtand how to unite the beautiful with the uſeful, taſte with ſimplicity, œconomy with various amuſements, and nature with art, in ſuch a manner as to make that buſineſs, which other men look upon as a puniſhment, a ſource of endleſs uninterrupted felicity. They reliſh pleaſure as epicureans do rich wines, which they keep a long while on the palate, in order to reliſh the flavour. They underſtand how to mix the amuſements and the occupations of the country ſo as to make them follow each other in agreeable ſucceſſion ſo well, that it is worth while to come amongſt them to read Virgil's Georgics, which I am perſuaded cannot be read any where elſe with ſo much pleaſure. Fiſhing is a very weighty and moſt important buſineſs with them,

and the art has been no where brought to ſo great a perfection as it is here. They have ſeparate ponds in which the fiſh are kept, according to their ages and with different intentions. Theſe ponds are in fallow lands, which are at certain times broke up and ploughed again; ſo that the eſtate reaps a double advantage by this method. The management of woods and of ſheep is alſo brought to a great degree of perfection here. They not only cut down their trees with great judgment, but ſtudy the art of planting, and what trees are fit for each ſoil with ſingular felicity. I am perſuaded, that we Frenchmen might learn much of the Saxons on this head, as well as on every other part of rural œconomy.

The Saxon wool is famous for being the beſt in Europe, after the Spaniſh and Engliſh: ſometimes it is uſed raw, ſometimes it is manufactured into clothes, ſtockings, and gloves, but moſt generally it is coloured and exported as a manufacture. The inimitable blue wools, which have their name from the country, are brought into France.

To theſe various practical and theoretical improvements of their lands, the nobility add ſmall walks, viſits to their friends in town and country, collections of nature and art, attention

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to improve the ſchools of their diſtricts, poetry, and muſick. The rich, amongſt whom I reckon thoſe who have from 8 to 10,000 guilders a year, (moſt of them have only from 3 to 6, and ſeveral from 800 to 2000 guilders,) come to town for only one or two months in the year. Their daughters are the loveliеſt and cleverеſt creatures in the world. Their natural ſenſibility generally contracts a romantic turn in the ſtillneſs of the country, which appears in their converſation and actions, and leads them to take unguarded ſteps in the firſt years of life. Unequal marriages and elopements are extremely frequent here. In Suabia, Bavaria, and Auſtria, I met with Saxon girls of good family, who in the laſt Sileſian war had enliſted with officers of the imperial and circular armies, and who all made excellent wives and mothers. At Prague I met with a Saxon girl of a good family, who partly from a conſiderable ſhare of ſenſibility, as ſhe confeſſed herſelf, with tears in her eyes, and partly from want of knowledge of the world, was a common woman. Leſſing's comedy, *Minna von Barnheim*, which doubtleſs you have read, exhibits ſome of the romantic part of this character, but in general it is more a picture of the town ladies. The country girls have not in general the coquetry and livelineſs of Minna:

they are more penſive and more tender, but all of them are as handſome as angels. The kind of reading in faſhion in Germany, which is moſtly novels and romances, is no proper nouriſhment for the ladies of Saxony, who are by nature of ſuch inflammable conſtitutions.

Leipſick is a very ſmall, but very handſome, and in ſome places, ſplendid city. The number of its inhabitants, reckoning the ſuburbs, amounts to near thirty thouſand; it was greater formerly. The way of living is totally different from any I have hitherto ſeen in the other Saxon towns. Much more luxury and profuſion reigns here than at Dreſden. They play in all companies, and often extremely high. The ladies of this place are far behind hand with their countrywomen of the other towns in domeſtic œconomy, but agree with them in the articles of dreſs and coquetry. Amongſt the literati, who ſwarm here, there are too many boaſters, *petit maitres*, ignoramuſſes, and fools of all ſorts; ſo that I ſometimes thought myſelf got to Vienna again, where the *friſeurs* and literati meet in the ſame companies, and are almoſt equally numerous. But the infinite number of men of merit, whoſe conduct and manners do honour to their native country, ſoon made

made me find out the difference. You meet here with men in all ſciences, who, from the extent, as well as the depth of their learning, but particularly from their knowledge of the world, are entirely different from the Vienna literati, for whom all is dead that is out of their own line.

I paid a viſit to Mr. Weiſſe, whoſe excellent work called the *Children's Friend*, Mr. Berquin propoſes partly to imitate, and partly to tranſlate. The author is not only one of the beſt German poets, but an extraordinary learned man, in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the word. He is elegance itſelf; and the income of a good place, which he poſſeſſes, enables him to give up his latter days to philoſophical repoſe, benevolence, and the muſes. He is one of the determined enemies of thoſe literary Calmucks, I mentioned to you in my letter on the theatre of Munich, who like the troops of Gengiſkan, ſome years ſince made an inroad upon Parnaſſus, drove out the the muſes, deſtroyed the flower-beds of the old German poets, mangled the language, hacked the words with Tartar fury, and would probably in their rage have begotten children like the fathers, if their diſcipline had anſwered the violence of their attack,

and ſuch enlightened men as Mr. Weiſſe had not diſcomfitted them after the ardour of their firſt onſet. They have been compelled to retreat behind the hedges, whence they ſometimes fire upon paſſengers, but they will not be able to keep even this poſt long.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

Leipſick.

THE commerce and manufactures of this place are very conſiderable. It is the center of the book trade of all Germany, and of the wool trade of all Saxony, and there are few cities in Germany which ſurpaſs it in commerce and exchange. Here they make velvets, woven ſilks, ſhags, linens, cloths, rattines, carpets, and a great variety of other things. This city ſupplies the greateſt part of Saxony with drugs and apothecaries wares, and has a conſiderable ſhare of the trade which is carried on betwixt the ſouth of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and the North. There are ſeveral wealthy houſes here.

The fair, which ended a week before my arrival, according to the report of both natives and foreign merchants, is no more than a ſhadow of what it was thirty years ago. The moſt remarkable part of the preſent trade, is the exchange of books, carried on by the German bookſellers. This they ſometimes execute by commiſſion, but for the moſt part they appear in their own *high perſons*. Their number is about

three hundred, and the value of the books they exchange amounts to 500,000 rix-dollars, or about 1,751,000 livres.

Leipſick maintains itſelf in the poſſeſſion of this trade, not ſo much from its having once taken that channel, as from the great quantity of books publiſhed in the city itſelf, and its centrical ſituation in the midſt of a country where all the arts flouriſh, and reading and writing are moſt univerſal. Theſe are the cauſes, which, in my opinion, have rendered all the attempts to deprive the city of this trade abortive.

The Auſtrian bookſellers have hitherto been the only ones who have not appeared regularly and in great numbers at this mart of literature. The reſtraint they lay under from the licence office, and the reſtraints they are lain under by the heavy wit of their writers, have diſabled them from bringing any *paper* to market, good enough to procure an exchange from the other dealers.

Leipſick is indebted for this trade, which, in my opinion, is the only one of the kind in all Europe, entirely to the merit of the inhabitants of this place, and other parts of Saxony. Saxony was the cradle of literature and taſte in Germany. The Swiſs had indeed contributed ſomething by theories towards raiſing the edifice of the

the arts, but theories form neither arts nor taſte, nor has the German part of Switzerland produced a ſingle literary production of merit, Geſner's works excepted. Thoſe of Haller are written in a barbarous dialect, and few of them are uniformly good. His beauties are ſingle ones; they are ſeparate pictures, woven into philoſophical declamations. Nature gives the firſt direction to art, which afterwards is not to be improved by any theories, but by the ſight of, and ſenſibility for, the moſt ſtriking and moſt beautiful objects of nature. Theſe it is, which form the original artiſt. And it is the reading, feeling, and comparing the works of theſe original artiſts, that form the imitator. Nor is taſte itſelf a conſequence of any theoretical knowledge; for it is well known, that thoſe who have formed the ſoundeſt theories, have been very unſucceſsful, both in the works produced by themſelves, and the judgment they have paſſed upon thoſe of other people. Theories depend upon concluſions of the underſtanding, which will always be falſe when the premiſes are ſo; but the quickneſs occaſioned by the perception and compariſon of various beautiful objects, which conſtitutes what we call taſte, will never go aſtray. It is true, indeed, that this

this perception and quickneſs cannot exiſt without ſome natural diſpoſitions towards them.

The firſt ſeeds of literature and taſte were ſown in Germany, by perſons who were no literati by profeſſion. Since the firſt æra of French taſte, one or the other of the princes of Germany have always been in alliance with France. The negociations this has given riſe to, and the abode of the French armies in Germany in conſequence, have rendered the knowledge of French abſolutely neceſſary to the German nobility. Hence all perſons of conſequence, miniſters, counſellors, officers, and ſecretaries, poliſhed themſelves by their intercourſe with our countrymen; ſo that the taſte of ſeveral German courts was formed before there was a man of letters of conſequence in the country. Prince Eugene, who had been brought up at the court of France, laboured with all his might to introduce the arts into Germany, but he found the Jeſuits in his way at the court of Vienna, for a long time the only one in which the French language could not gain admittance. In all the others there were perſons of as much taſte and good ſenſe as prince Eugene, true children of the Muſes, who were more or leſs ſucceſsful in their attempts to extend good taſte. Much in the ſame manner the arts came to

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us from Italy, and much in the ſame manner they came to Italy from Greece.

After this intercourſe with France, the only thing wanting to awaken the Germans to emulation, was a language, and in this reſpect Saxony had a great advantage over the other German provinces. Ever ſince the time of Luther, this country has had a manner of writing, which diſtinguiſhed it from the barbarous manner of the ſchools that obtained over the reſt of Germany. The ſervice of the church contributed much in theſe parts to the improvement of the language. The ſchools for young people were very good here long before the brilliant æra of German literature. The language of ſome of the Saxon writers who lived betwixt the years 1715 and 1725, a time in which the reſt of Germany was ſtill plunged in the barbarous ſtyle of the *Cancelleria*, is remarkable for its grammatical clearneſs and accuracy. The natural wit of the Saxons, together with their peculiar and, as it were, innate love for all that is beautiful, ſoon made it their peculiar pride and pleaſure, as it had been that of the Athenians, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſpeaking their language correctly. The loweſt handycraftſman here is more ſolicitous to ſpeak purely and well, and is much more

more fortunate in his attempts for the purpoſe, than ſeveral learned men by profeſſion, with whom I have had the honour to converſe in the ſouthern parts of the country. The very women are ſenſible of grammatical errors, and take notice of them. Beſides the language, the Saxons had other advantages, which contributed to ſpread literature ſooner and wider amongſt them than amongſt the other Germans. Philoſophy and the higher parts of the *belles lettres*, had had the duſt rubbed from them in this country long before the bright æra of German literature. Leibnitz, Puffendorf, Thomaſius, Wolf, and others, had broken up the extenſive field of literature, had ploughed it with taſte and ſimplicity, and had brought about a happy revolution in the minds of the people in all the north of Germany, particularly in Saxony. The celebrated journal, known by the name of *Acta Eruditorum*, was begun in 1682, and was ſoon equal to the journals of the moſt enlightened nations, ſuch as the *Journal des Scavans*, the Engliſh Tranſactions, and the *Giornale di Literati*, whilſt in the other ſtates of Germany, Berlin not excepted, knowledge was confined to a few perſons about the court. The beginning of the preſent century alſo produced ſeveral editions of the ancient claſſics, which contributed more

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to the nurture of genius and true taſte, than the beſt rules and theories.

No doubt, the magnificence and peculiar taſte of the Saxon Auguſtus, for the fine arts, contributed much to the early poliſhing of taſte, and the awakening of genius in this country. All the arts have a ſiſterly affection for each other; they do not like to be long out of the ſame company. Painting, ſculpture, architecture, muſic, and all the arts connected with them, flouriſhed more at the court of Auguſtus the third, than they did in any court of Europe. From this ſchool came Mengs, the greateſt painter of our days; Haſſe, who was able to do juſtice to the poetry of a Metaſtaſio; Gluck, Hiller, and many others. The art of ſpeech would naturally join itſelf to ſo brilliant a ſociety. The opera made the Saxons acquainted with the Italian poets, juſt as the language of the court had brought them acquainted with the French ones. At length they made ſome trials in their own language, and their trials were ſucceſsful. Gellert, Rabbener, and many others, evidently formed themſelves upon Engliſh models. Ever ſince this period, Saxony has furniſhed a much larger proportion of ingenious men than the other parts of Germany. In polite literature their numbers ſurpaſs thoſe

thoſe of all the reſt of Germany put together. Their tranſlators, reviewers, magazine-writers, almanack and catalogue-makers are innumerable. There are many perſons in this country as well acquainted with the antient and modern literature of England, France, and Italy, as the natives of theſe countries themſelves. There is always a warehouſe of Spaniſh and Portugueſe literature here, and (which is almoſt peculiar to Germany,) they forage to the uttermoſt bounds of the north, and explore the Daniſh, Swediſh, Ruſſian, and Poliſh Parnaſſus. As far as regards the mechanical part of the buſineſs, *i. e.* the working up of materials and making them fit for ſale, Saxony will for a long time continue ſuperior to the other Germans; but their genius ſeems worn out. Nothing can be more frivolous than the preſent purſuits of the men of genius here; but other parts of Germany are in the prime of youth, and others again ſeem to be juſt awake.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

Leipſick.

I MADE an excurſion from hence to Weimar and Gotha. This part of the country is the beſt cultivated, and in a political view, the moſt beautiful I have hitherto ſeen in Germany. Every two or three miles you come to a town, which contains a flouriſhing manufacture. The villages are innumerable, and the agriculture much more varied than on the other ſide of Dreſden. Nature appears to have been more favourable to theſe parts.

Weimar is a ſmall but handſome town. The court is remarkably affable, and the reigning duke carries popularity as well as philoſophy almoſt too far. He puts himſelf on a level with all kinds of perſons, and takes parts in private plays acted by his ſervants and the literati of his court.

To a natural fondneſs for the ſentimental and adventurous, he unites an exellent improved taſte for every thing that belongs to the arts. This court is made up entirely of wits, and even his *general ſuperintendant*, (a title you are not ac-

quainted with, but which anſwers to a little Pope,) is a *bel eſprit*, who has publiſhed a rhapſodical extract from the firſt book of Moſes, under the title of the *Origin of Mankind*.

The wonderful character of this duke, the romantic part of it only excepted, for which he has to thank Mr. Gothe, is the work of the celebrated Wieland. Wieland is, without a doubt, the firſt of all the German writers. No writer, Leſſing alone excepted, unites ſo much ſtudy with ſo much genius as he does. He has not only formed and fixed his taſte on a thorough acquaintance with the beauties of the ancient writers, but poſſeſſes alſo all the literature of France, Italy, and England. His works are not like the rhapſodies of the modern German poetaſters, but have the true ſmack of the art. Even the moſt fugitive trifles that fall from his playful and humorous pen, beſpeak a workman who is thorough maſter of his buſineſs, and has a manner of his own. It has been ſaid of the great painters, that you may know them by the daſh of their pencils. Wieland is one of the few German writers who will go down to poſterity as a claſſical writer, when the works of ſeveral of his cotemporaries ſhall ſerve for dung of the fields. It is generally objected to him, that he repeats the ſame things too often, and copies

copies himſelf; but for my part, I have not obſerved much repetition. It is true, that like other great writers, he has favourite ideas, which he is ever turning and poliſhing, in order to ſet them before the reader in every point of view. I have no fault to find with him, but that he hides his ſtudy too little, expoſes his immenſe reading too much, and often forgets that his reader may not be ſo enamoured with his erudition as he is himſelf. I likewiſe think, that before he was privy-counſellor and tutor to the prince, he wrote much more naturally than he does now. In order that no part of literature ſhould be unexplored by him, but more with a view of filling his purſe, whilſt his reputation was at the height, he undertook a literary journal, which he carried on with uncommon ſpirit and activity. None of the German writers know ſo well how to pleaſe the public as Wieland does. He is moſt fruitful in the invention of trifles, in order to make his journal, which is as good as any other we have, ſell. Sometimes, like a Dutch tobacco-merchant, he will tye a picture to his wares; ſometimes he promiſes in one number a ſolution of a riddle in a paſt one, and in the next, inſtead of a ſolution of the riddle, gives you a rattle, or a trumpet for children to

play with. At times he publiſhes one number in a year, at others he will write the whole volume in a month. Riddles, newſpapers, anecdotes, literary quarrels, every thing, in a word, is crammed in that may give his wares the appearance of novelty, or amuſe the people. You will ſay theſe are little bookſelling tricks; and ſo they are, but they are more venial in a German than in other authors, as without them it would be difficult for the greateſt induſtry and the greateſt talents to live by the profeſſion.

Wieland is, what few poets are, a good domeſtic man. He lives, in fact, more for his family than for the public. He would furniſh a new proof, if there wanted any, of the juſtice of a favourite aphoriſm with me, to wit, that the generative powers of man are in the ſame proportion as his underſtanding, and that it is good for him when he uſes the one with as much order and œconomy as the other. Wieland has ſeven or eight fine children. No poet, he obſerves himſelf, ever had ſo many; and he has written the lives of the poets, ſolely to aſſure himſelf of the truth of it. A good penſion from the court, added to what he gets by his journal, enables him to ſee the approach of old age with tranquillity, and gives him the proſpect of enjoying the comforts of life to the end.

There

There are ſome extraordinary traits in Wieland's character, which ſeem a contraſt to his writings: I will give you ſome of them. In all he has written, he diſcovers great knowledge of the world, and you would take him for a courtier out of place, yet no man knows leſs of mankind. In polite circles, and in the conduct of a common affair of life, he is entirely at a loſs. Even ſince the publication of the Agathon, which you know contains every evolution and revolution of the female mind, and, like his other works, beſpeaks one of the politeſt writers that ever exiſted; there have been ſeveral inſtances of his not knowing how to converſe with a woman. His knowledge of the gay world conſiſts entirely in theory, and he muſt be ſome time in company, before he can make uſe of it. This is not altogether owing to continual ſtudy and want of intercourſe with the polite world, but is in ſome degree conſtitutional in him. He is by nature very lively, but not very reſolute, diffident of himſelf, and eaſy of belief towards others; in fine, he is one of thoſe men to whom nature has refuſed every grain of that ſelf-ſufficiency, a ſmall doſe of which is of ſo much uſe in the affairs of this life. His knowledge of the world is of the kind which *Montaigne*

obſerved in a man who reſembled him; *it is in a place which he knows where to find it in, and not in himſelf.* The conſciouſneſs of this has ſometimes made him a coward. To this cauſe are to be attributed the frequent variations in his way of thinking; his flattery towards thoſe who can ſerve him; his ſubmiſſion towards thoſe who reſiſt him; his toleration of thoſe whoſe opinions are oppoſite to his own; his love of party, and all the manœuvres to which he has had recourſe, whenever he has thought his reputation in danger, for which reputation he would have had nothing to fear, if he had but known his own ſtrength. Before Gothe was known, Wieland ſtood as he ought always to have done, at the top of the German Parnaſſus. It ſo happened, that, contrary to his intention, he inſerted a very ſevere critique of *Gothe's Play of Goſs of Berlichingen,* in his review. Gothe revenged himſelf by a farce, written in his ſtrongeſt manner. Wieland, ever ready to ſound a retreat when danger is nigh, endeavoured to make his peace in a ſecond number, in which he was more civil. This, however, would hardly have ſaved him, but fortunately for him, his pupil, the reigning duke, ſoon after went to Francfort, where he met with Gothe, whom he brought with him to Weimar, and of courſe introduced him

him to his old tutor. Would you believe it? the cajoled Wieland not only took ſomething of Gothe's manner himſelf, but wrote apologies for ſome followers of his ſchool, whom in his former writings he had ſatyrized. Upon the whole, he is one of the greateſt ſophiſts of our days, who has always a ſatire, or an apology ready, and produces that which brings him the moſt pence.

Gothe is the duke's favourite; they are always together; he poſſeſſes a full portion of that which nature has refuſed to Wieland. Formerly his ſelf-ſufficiency led him into abſurdities, but ſince that time things have much changed. He is not only a genius, but poſſeſſes a great deal of learning. Many circumſtances, for which he is not entirely anſwerable, were the occaſion of his giving the ſignal to a horde of Calmucks, who ſome years ſince made an inroad on the German Parnaſſus, and laid it waſte. In all things he is upon principle, for the natural, the extraordinary, the adventurous, the ſtriking, and the bold, and has as great an averſion to the common forms of government, as to the common rules of writing. His philoſophy borders nearly upon that of Rouſſeau. I ſhall not ſtop here to compare them, but only obſerve, that they have both come two hundred years

too late, and that the man who gives a flat contradiction to the opinions of all his cotemporaries, abounds either in ſelf-opinion or ſelf-love.—When Gothe firſt began to feel his genius, he uſed to go about with a ſhort hat, his hair about his ears, an out of the way dreſs; and, in ſhort, affected a ſingularity in every thing. His looks, his gait, his ſpeech, the whole of him beſpoke an extraordinary man. Even in his writings, he rather affected graceful negligence than any laboured delicacy. He ſhortened all his periods in the moſt extraordinary manner, uſed common and vulgar words, and, what was of no great ſervice to the poor German language, already ſo bare of them, cut off half of the vowels, and introduced pauſes and ſtrokes of admiration at every three words. His writings contain a great deal of that happy ſeizure of circumſtance which beſpeaks a knowledge of mankind, united to a ſtrong and fertile imagination, and a great vein of humour. You ſee in every thing he writes, that he is able to lay a plan and connect the parts; this diſtinguiſhes him from the whole herd of his imitators. Whenever it happens, as it ſometimes does, that one part of his work does not hang well with the other, you eaſily diſcover that the defect has not ariſen from ignorance, but

but becauſe the author did not chooſe to give himſelf the trouble to weave them together. Gothe has read a great deal, is well acquainted with the beſt ancient and modern writers, paints, underſtands muſick, is a good companion and wit, and — counſellor of legation to the duke.

Doubtleſs, he is by this time convinced of the injury he has done German literature. Several young perſons, encouraged to it by his example, imagined that nothing more was requiſite to become a genius, than to be bold, impudent, and careleſs about language and ſtyle, and to entertain contempt for every thing that is called order or regularity. They conceived that all ſtudy and attention to rule was needleſs, that every thing that was natural muſt of courſe be good, that a true genius required no education, but had all powers of creation in himſelf, and that when he became a genius, he was entitled to produce himſelf in his ſhirt, or in *puris naturalibus*, on the market-place, or in the courts of princes; that real judgment only made aſſes of men, and that an unreſtrained imagination raiſed them to the rank of divinities; that dreams and enthuſiaſtic raptures in his own greatneſs, and the littleneſs of the world about him, was the proper ſtate of man; that all the occupations by which his daily bread was to be earned,

degraded him, and that in the beſt of all poſſible worlds he muſt go on all-fours and eat acorns. You muſt not think that I am exaggerating when I ſay this, for I can give you proofs of every thing I have aſſerted. Gothe has this in common with Rouſſeau; that his philoſophy (whether true or falſe) overturns *foundations*, and gratifies diſſoluteneſs and idleneſs; for which reaſon it has been adopted by thoſe who have no foundation, but ſeek only to be happy through an implicit belief in their maſter. As Gothe was his own maſter, his excreſcences were the more eaſily forgiven, becauſe of their conſiſtency with his principles and with each other, of a certain moderation he obſerved in them, and of his affability towards all he converſed with; but his ſchool is the moſt ridiculous that can be conceived. I queſtion whether many of theſe gentlemen are themſelves able to give explanations of the obſcure parts of their writings. The flattered nonſenſe was cried up by the critics of the ſect, as the quinteſſence of human wit and human imagination. As to the underſtanding, as I told you above, they declared open war againſt that. To have a true idea of the taſte of the public, one ſhould read the productions of theſe gentlemen, which ſtill paſs for wonders with many. This herd of Calmucks

mucks gained recruits from every order of men, even out of the phyſical tribe, who formed ſyſtems of the ſame kind in their profeſſion. They taught, that to roll in ſnow, to bathe in cold water, to leap like bucks about the ſteepeſt precipices, to eat nothing warm, but to live entirely on the fruits of the earth, not to give the leaſt interruption to the operations of nature, but even to drop the excrement ſtanding, at any time and in any place, was all that could be done by man, either for the preſervation or recovery of his health.

A well-known phyſician, who has laid many a patient in the duſt, by the purſuit of this new mode of cure, grounded all the reaſonings made uſe of in his publications, on the example of the firſt wit in Germany. If he ordered a man a cold bath, and the patient expreſſed a fear, leſt it might poſſibly occaſion a fever, or a flux, the doctor would aſſure him, that he need not be afraid of any thing of the ſort, for that the great Gothe went into the cold bath in froſt and ſnow.—The young painters, too, would for ſome time paint nothing but ſtorms, lightning, tops of Apennines, or Alps; elephants, lions, and tygers; Didos on the funeral-pile, Lucretias and Medeas murdering their children. All the ſofter landſcapes, all the common animals,

and

and all the ordinary ſituations of common life, they entirely excluded from their canvaſs. Truth and keeping are nothing with them; ſuch littleneſſes, they ſay, a genius leaves to your day-labourers for bread, and men of ordinary underſtandings. Art, according to their definition, conſiſts in what is out of the common courſe. The more unnaturally a Dido flings her arms about, the more portentouſly ſhe rolls her ſavage eyes, and the greater diſorder there appears in her hair and drapery, the more beautiful ſhe is. In this manner artiſts of all denominations miſconceive Gothe's theory. His flatterers imitate him in the moſt ridiculous manner, in his dreſs, in his walk, and even in his ſpeech.

Gothe is in ſome meaſure reſponſible for theſe excreſcences. Having diſcovered ſparks of genius in ſome of his friends, ſuch as Lentz, Clinger, and others, by proper encouragements he ſoon blew the ſparks into a real flame. Thus far was fit and right; but as ſoon as he had commenced protector, there came people to him by no means worthy of his protection. Inſtead of ſending theſe back to their brethren of the foreſt, the bubble of reputation led him on, and he was not aſhamed, at leaſt for a time, to ſet himſelf at the head of a little academy—very different in this reſpect from Rouſſeau, who

neither commended nor protected any one. At preſent Gothe does not ſeem to diſturb himſelf much about literary purſuits. He is at work on the life of the celebrated Bernard of Weimar, and enjoys life as much as it is to be enjoyed amidſt a number of little troubles. Formerly he uſed to be regularly beſieged with recommendations, and his diſciples came from all parts to viſit him, in hopes to be brought forward by his patronage. He is now grown wiſer, and has made it a rule to himſelf, to be very nice in his recommendations. In this he is extremely in the right, as he would be accountable for the follies of all theſe people. Neither indeed does it follow as a natural conſequence, that becauſe the miniſter, counſellor, and private ſecretary of a prince is a wit, his cooks, and butlers, *valets de chambre*, huntſmen, and ſtable-boys, ſhould alſo be wits.

Gotha is a large town, richer and handſomer than Weimar; the number of its inhabitants is eſtimated at nine or ten thouſand. There are ſome valuable manufactures in this place. The court is as popular as that of Weimar, and equally fond of ſtrangers. Some years ago the duke had one of the beſt German theatres in Germany; but he ſent away the whole company on finding that the expence was too large, that he

he had ſufficiently amuſed himſelf, and that the players began to aſſume airs of importance.

The ſubjects of both theſe dukes are very happy. Their finances too are well regulated, and their adminiſtration of juſtice and police is perfect. Neither of them have the weakneſs of other German princes, who ſpend a great part of their incomes in the maintenance of a regiment or two of ſoldiers, and make the younger part of their ſubjects do the military exerciſe, inſtead of keeping them at the plough. The income of each of them is about 600,000 Rheniſh guilders, or 54,000 French louis-d'ors. Their country is extremely productive, and extraordinarily well inhabited.

Erfurt is a very large, old, black, and ill-inhabited town; it is near a mile in circumference, and contains nearly eighteen thouſand men. The moſt remarkable thing here is the art of gardening, which is carried to a greater perfection than in any other part of Germany I have yet had occaſion to ſee. The people of the country carry on a conſiderable trade in fruits and plants. The inhabitants, like thoſe of the reſt of Saxony, are a handſome, ſenſible, and friendly people. The preſent vice-governor for the Elector of Mentz, to whom the city, with ſeventy villages which lie round it, belongs,

longs, is a baron of D'Alberg, canon of Mentz, whom you may probably have ſeen at Paris. He was in the houſe of the marquis of ———, and, if I miſtake not, well known to the duke of Choiſeul. He is a man of uncommon knowledge of the world, a man of letters in the full extent of the word, and a patriot. He underſtands all the buſineſs of the higher world, and all that concerns government; poſſeſſes the Belles Lettres and the arts, and is on terms of friendſhip with the moſt ſenſible men of Germany. He expects in time to be the firſt eccleſiaſtical prince of the German empire, and, after the Pope, the richeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed prelate in the catholic world. Erfurt and its territory yields annually about 180,000 Rheniſh guilders. It contains about thirty-ſix thouſand men.

LETTER

LETTER XLVI.

Leipſick.

I CANNOT quit Saxony without ſaying ſomething to you of the reformation which began here,

The origin of the reformation, as a queſtion of learning, is difficult to determine. Between the times of John Huſs and Luther, Paul of Tubingen, Brulfer, Baſil of Groningen, and ſeveral Engliſh, openly profeſſed the doctrines of the reformed. The Valdenſes had ſpread their opinions very conſiderably long before the time of Huſs; and between their time and the æra of Huſs, Wicliff, John of Paris, Arnaud de Villeneuve, William of St. Amour, Evrard, biſhop of Saltzburg, and many others taught the tenets of Luther and Calvin. It is certain, that from the time of the Albigeois to the breaking out of the reformation, there was no period in which ſome remarkable man did not openly maintain the principles of the Proteſtant religion. Between the time of Peter de Waldo, (who did moſt towards the ſpreading of the ſect of the Albigeois, though they

they do not take their name from him, as ſome have thought,) and Berenger, who came not a hundred years after him, we meet with Pierre de Bruis, Henry de Thouloufe, and Arnaud Hot, who, with many others, made the doctrines held by the Proteſtants of the preſent day, known all over France. The celebrated biſhop Honoré of Autun, who wrote upon free will, and, in the ſpirit of the Proteſtants of this day, called the Pope the great beaſt, and the Whore of Babylon, lived in 1115, and Berenger died in 1091; ſo that there is hardly a generation between them.

In the ſame century with Berenger, Arnolph, biſhop of Orleans, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the council of Rheims, by a ſpeech much more violent than any thing which Luther has written againſt the power of the Pope. In a word, the opinions of Proteſtants are to be met with in the earlieſt ages of the church; and an attentive reader of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will ſoon ſee, that they are connected with the opinions of the firſt ſectaries, and that it was not the bare novelty of his opinions which made Luther remarkable.

Whoever is a little acquainted with the hiſtory of the century before Luther, and can form to himſelf a preciſe idea of the ſtate of Saxony, previous

previous to the breaking out of the reformation, will eaſily ſee, that other things beſides theology contributed to this event, and that Luther only gave the long waited for ſignal of revolt.

Since the time of the emperor Sigiſmund, (who would have brought about the revolution himſelf, if his knowledge had correſponded with his thirſt for reformation, and who for want of that knowledge ſuffered himſelf to be led by the noſe by ſome cardinals) Germany had been at work on a reformation. If a Catholic at this time was to ſay what was ſaid, not only in the ſchools and in publications, but at the council of Conſtance before the whole nation, at the diet of the empire, and by particular princes in their tranſactions with each other, he would be put into a priſon as a violent heretic. It is indeed wonderful, how the minds of the Catholic princes were changed by the heat of diſpute after that ſtep was once taken, which they themſelves had before endeavoured to produce. The well known *hundred grievances* (which in the end grew to much more than a hundred) of the German nation plainly ſhewed, that moſt of the courts of Germany were ready to protect the firſt bold man who would revolt againſt the court of Rome,

and

and ſupport the political grievances with theological arguments. The cunning, active, and very eloquent Æneas Sylvius, who effected the *concordate* betwixt the Pope and the empire by his crafty manœuvres, awakened ſtill more the jealouſy of all the thinking patriots of Germany. Though he was a ſubtile genius, who for the moment could gain the aſcendancy over the cold Germans, and make them acquieſce in ſilence, yet after all the declamations and fine intrigues of this Cicero of his time, the obſtinacy natural to the cold character returned, and again brought forth the old complaints. Æneas Sylvius thought his enemies weaker than they really were. In all his writings you ſee that he imagined that he ſhould be able to cheat the Germans; but their genius was awake, and they ſaw through him, though they had neither experience enough, nor union enough amongſt themſelves, to reſiſt the artifices he played off againſt them. Mayer, chancellor of Mentz, at that time the moſt enlightened, moſt refined, and moſt brilliant court in Germany, and which contributed exceedingly to the ſucceſs of the reformation, in his letters (to be found in ſeveral compilations of the times), ſpeaks to the Italian in a tone that would have put to ſilence any advocate of the court of Rome, but the very

witty ſophiſt Æneas Sylvius. Whoever conſiders the intrigues and webs which the court of Rome muſt have wove to keep the duke of Bavaria and the Palſgrave of the Rhine in good humour (ſome proofs of which are to be met with in Febronius), will only wonder how the reformation came to be put off ſo late as to the time of Luther.

Whilſt the politics of ſeveral courts of Germany were thus directed againſt the court of Rome, the reputation of the latter was daily ſinking in conſequence of the philoſophy that gained ground in the ſchools, and the intercourſe of learned men with each other. The progreſs made in printing, which became general in Germany in the laſt part of the fifteenth century, contributed to the general ſpread of knowledge. As early as in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the Germans began to write their own language with correctneſs. The way was prepared for the people to be ſoon taught. This, no doubt, was the golden age of Germany. It had warm patriots, induſtrious philoſophers, and thinking princes. The awakened ſpirit of improvement had manifeſted itſelf in legiſlation and the improvement of the police; peace was eſtabliſhed at home, arts and taſte had begun to ſpread over Germany from Italy.

Bologna

Bologna was the reſort of all the German nobility. It is true, indeed, that they brought home with them the barbarous mixture of the Roman, Papal, and Lombard law, but they alſo brought home good manners, a knowledge of the Italian and Latin languages, and a taſte for the fine arts and ſciences. Eraſmus of Rotterdam, Reachlin, Hutten, and many others, are ſignal proofs how ſoon taſte was purified in Germany. Saxony in particular had ſeveral good ſchools. The univerſity of Leipſick had ſucceeded to the fame of that of Prague; and that of Wirtemberg, out of which Luther was ſoon to give the ſignal for battle, was frequented not only by Germans, but by Hungarians, Poles, Danes, and Swedes. Luther's other writings are evident proofs how much the German language itſelf was cultivated in Germany, and his tranſlation of the bible teſtifies how well the ancient languages were underſtood in the ſchools. Indeed it is probable, that Germany would have been the firſt country enlightened by Italy, and ſo have arrived at the preſent brilliant æra of literature immediately, had not religious diſputes diſturbed the minds of the people, and the war of thirty years, which followed, laid waſte the country.

Italy, at that time the moſt flouriſhing country

in Europe, thought of no reformation, though it probably ſaw the religious abuſes ſtill more clearly than the Germans themſelves. The wits of Italy amuſed themſelves with ſatires on the pope, cardinals, and their adherents the monks and nuns. They conſidered the abuſes of religion with as little ſerioufneſs as men in the polite world look upon adultery and gallantry, which are now grown too univerſal for the police to have any hope of being able to reſtrain them. Indeed the exceſſes in which Italian prieſts and prelates indulged themſelves, were not of that low ſavage kind which diſgraced thoſe of Germany, but accorded better with the poliſhed manners, the character of the people, and ſocial life; and the arts, which contributed all they could to the outward ſplendour of religion in this country, covered many defects in the eyes of thinking men, juſt as a coquet procures admirers by a charming patch, with which ſhe contrives to cover a wart or ugly ſpot of another kind. When we add to theſe conſiderations, that the commerce with the *ſpiritual* colonies brought home great riches, without the leaſt hazard or expence to the nation; that ſince the time of Charlemagne theſe colonies had ſpread almoſt to the borders of the frozen ſea, and that many Italian nobles made their fortune

fortune in the church; it will be no wonder that this country took no ſhare in the reformation, albeit it was ſuperior to the reſt of Europe in philoſophy and politics, and probably ſaw the corruption with a quicker eye than Luther and his aſſociates.

As to France, ſince the days of *Philip le Bel*, it had learned to ſport with the holy ſpirit of Rome. The court of Rome was no longer formidable to it. Our kings had a ſecret underſtanding with the popes, and knew how to make the vicar of Chriſt ſubſervient to their purpoſes. Our manners too were more correct than thoſe of the Germans, and our eccleſiaſtics confined themſelves more within the bounds of their order and of honour. As a proof of this, the council of Trent found nothing to alter in the French diſcipline, though it made a ſignal revolution in the manners of the German eccleſiaſtics. Though we had not indeed ſo many brilliant writers as the Germans had, knowledge in general was much more univerſally ſpread; and there are proofs ſufficient that men ſaw the abuſes of religion as clearly in France, as they did any where elſe. The behaviour of our envoys at the council of Conſtance one hundred years before, and the manner in which our court united with the German Proteſtants, as well as many other

inſtances of the kind that might be brought, are a plain proof that religion was conſidered in France as a ſubordinate thing to politics.

Many other cauſes beſides the knowledgeof the abuſes in religion, muſt alſo have contributed to the breaking out of the reformation in Germany. Theſe are very various; doubtleſs, one of the principal was the pride with which the court of Rome affected to treat the Germans: it had ſo often cheated and bullied this compliant and, till the fifteenth century, ſtupid people, that it began to imagine it might increaſe the burthen, *ad infinitum*, without any danger of meeting with reſiſtance; but, according to the old proverb, oppreſſion is the parent of liberty. Rome imagined that the concordate of *Aſchaffenburg* had ſecured it againſt any farther attempts from the nation; but this agreement had had quite a different effect, and had made the people ſee that they were betrayed by the craft of the Popiſh mediators.

Another cauſe of the reform is to be ſought for in the character of the nation. A phlegmatic man, when he once ſees that he is betrayed and brought under the harneſs, is the moſt untractable and ſtubborn of men. The numberleſs ſectaries in France, previous to the reformation, paſſed by like the faſhions of the country, and were forgotten.

The

The manners of the clergy of Germany likewiſe contributed to produce a change. The nunneries were open brothels; and whenever the prelates or abbots happened to be lords of manors, they exerciſed the right of *prælibation* over the daughters of their tenants, in the ſame manner as the temporal lords. Debauchery was not covered over in this country, as in Italy and Germany, by good company and good manners, but it broke out into the moſt brutal and diſguſting exceſſes: for inſtance, a little before the breaking out of the reformation, a prieſt of Augſburg carried his effrontery ſo far, as to have knowledge of a woman in the open ſtreets. Child murder, ſodomy, and all the unnatural vices, had their full play amongſt the German eccleſiaſtics. Theſe horrid acts muſt have ſtruck that part of the German public, who had been poliſhed by an acquaintance with the arts and ſciences of other countries, more than they would do the ſtupid inhabitants of a land whoſe prieſts went no farther than other people.

To all theſe cauſes there ſtill remains to be added, the heat with which Luther carried on his attack. The Proteſtants themſelves do not deny, that the paſſions of the man, his pride and vindictive ſpirit, contributed much to his ſucceſs.

We Frenchmen know nothing at all of Luther; both our eccleſiaſtics and hiſtorians have equally miſtaken his character. Even Voltaire, who was commonly ſo fortunate in delineating features which had eſcaped others, knew no more of Luther than, that he had called the Pope an aſs. Luther's writings diſplay not only a large quantity of knowledge, but an uncommon ſhare of wit, and at the ſame time ſtrong ſigns of a lively imagination. As to his wonderful humour, it is a kind of mean betwixt the manner of a well-fed monk, a true brother, and that of a ſenſible, learned, and patriotic profeſſor of the preſent day. If we judge him by our preſent rules of taſte, we ſhall find that he often falls into coarſeneſs and vulgarity; but we muſt recollect, that he had to do with the populace, and that his ſcholars, animated by the zeal which the luſt of reformation brought upon them, publiſhed many things which he did not intend ſhould ſee the light. They began all their works with their prophet, and would not ſuffer a word of his to be loſt, though ſpoken when he was drunk: it is thus his table converſations have come to be printed. You read in ſome editions of them, that when the great man perceived that ſome of the perſons preſent were writing down his jokes, he ſaid, 'Ye aſſes, how

'comes

'comes it that you pick up the excrement that 'I let fall?' But it was as much owing to this rough kind of wit as to his learning, that his writings ſpread ſo far as they did. Like a truly phlegmatic man, he was irreconcilable and untractable when once he had been provoked. He moved heaven and earth againſt the popes. From the cloyſters and jovial ſocieties, in which he had made every body merry at their expence, he hurried to the courts of princes to urge the battle, or wrote himſelf the moſt bitter invectives againſt them. Though he would often put himſelf into no very decent paſſions with other reformers, on account of difference of opinion, he took care always to keep the ſovereigns he had to do with united; a ſure ſign that he was a man of the world, who knew how to treat with the great, as well as with the ſmall ones of the earth. Beſides all this, and above all, Luther was a *good* man; he kept an expenſive houſe, left debts behind him, and, what does the Proteſtant princes in Germany of that time no great honour, his wife and children fell into almoſt extreme poverty.

Eraſmus of Rotterdam, and others, who in the beginning adhered to Luther's party, were undoubtedly more learned and experienced men than he was; but a far different being from a mere learned man was required to ſtrike the ſtroke.

ſtroke. It was neceſſary that the man who was to take the firſt ſtep, ſhould unite pre-eminence of learning with boldneſs and intrepidity, qualities which ſeldom fall to the ſhare of a man of letters. He was alſo to be a man for the people, which is ſeldom the caſe with a man of Eraſmus's character; in a word, he was to be a Luther.

Some people have been willing to deprive him of the honour of having ſtruck the firſt blow, but this is very immaterial: they ſay that Zwingle had preached againſt the abuſes of the church in Switzerland before the year 1507, in which Luther publiſhed his theſis; it is true, that Zwingle had done ſo, and ſo had many others in Germany, before either Zwingle or Luther. From the time of the council of Conſtance, there never had been wanting men to preach and write againſt the injuſtice of the court of Rome, and the freedom of their pens was a ſingular contraſt enough with the tyranny of the church government. But ſermons alone could do nothing; all the political negociations of the moſt reſpectable courts could do nothing before Luther. To effect any thing conſiderable, there wanted a man to ſet himſelf at the head of a large party, under whom all the learned men of the times would enliſt, whom one of the moſt powerful princes of the times would

would ſupport, and who ſhould charge from ſo reſpectable a place as the univerſity of Wirtemberg at that time was:—this man was Luther. Circumſtances, too, muſt have concurred, the influence of which we cannot at this time calculate. Preaching alone would have done as little in Switzerland, as it did in Germany. It was neceſſary to proceed to *action*, and to ſet *hands* to work. All the other reformations followed the example which had been ſet them in that of Saxony; and though other reformers afterwards broke with Luther, and ſome of them went farther than he had done, they all looked up to him as their chief, and as having broke the ice for them. Without him, or rather without the circumſtances which impelled him, in all probability matters would never have come to action. Senſible men would have written ſatires, they would have made patriotic repreſentations, and have preached; and, in the end, the Pope would have been compelled to do in Germany what he had done in France, from which laſt kingdom the ſale of indulgencies (which was the firſt ſignal of rebellion in Germany), and the great abuſes, have been baniſhed without reformation.

It is uſual for later writers to dwell much on the degree of light which the reformation has ſpread over the world. In my opinion, this is treating

treating the matter in a very partial way. The fact is, that as to Germany, the illumination or the cultivation of it was put off for two hundred years by the reformation; during that period, France and Italy became very flouriſhing and enlightened countries, and Germany would undoubtedly have vied with them in cultivation, had not the theological diſputes baniſhed philoſophy, and the country been torn up by civil war. Even Italy flouriſhed in a degree which Germany will not yet arrive at for ſome time. Venice, Genoa, and Tuſcany were ſo enlightened, ſo poliſhed, and, for their ſize, ſo powerful, that, making allowances for the different magnitudes of the countries, Europe has nothing at this time to produce that can compare with them. Venice alone was able to find employment for the empire and the whole power of Germany, and raiſed the jealouſy of all the princes of thoſe times. Naples alſo was a moſt flouriſhing ſtate. As for myſelf, I confeſs, that I cannot ſee what pre-eminence the Proteſtants have a right to claim even at this day, with regard to general illumination, over the Catholics; for inſtance, the French, and part of the Italians. The general enlightening of the underſtanding does not depend upon two or three myſteries of religion more or leſs in one country than in another. I, too, ſet out on my

journey

journey with the prejudice that the great body of Proteſtants muſt be more enlightened than the Catholics; but I was ſoon obliged to give it up, and found that many of our countrymen have much more knowing heads than can be found in the people of ſeveral Proteſtant countries I paſſed through. Even amongſt the Proteſtants themſelves, the knowledge of the people is in no proportion to the ſimplicity of their different religions. The Saxons, whoſe religion is by no means ſo ſimple, or, as ſome people would call it, ſo philoſophical as that of ſome of the reformed, are, upon the whole, a much more enlightened people than the reformed Swiſs and Dutchmen: the difference amongſt the peaſants is very ſtriking.—In Germany, after the darkneſs in which war and theology had involved the country, the Catholics applied themſelves much ſooner than the Proteſtants to the ſciences. Sturm, the firſt improver of the Proteſtant ſchools, in his treatiſe *De Inſtitutione Scholarum*, allows, that the Jeſuits had an advantage over the Proteſtants in the ſchools, and that theſe muſt exert themſelves, if they would come up with them. It has been ſolely owing to the indolence and ſtupidity of the Catholic princes, that the Proteſtants have not only overtaken them, but got a great way before them.

Whilſt

Whilſt the latter made uſe of the liberty which had been procured to their ſchools by the change of their religion, the former ſuffered the papal huntſmen to entrap them under the authority of their unthinking princes; but this was not the caſe in France, Venice, and other Catholic countries.

It may, I think, admit of ſome doubt, whether the abolition of the ancient church government did much more for the happineſs of the people, than it did for their underſtandings; at leaſt in every Proteſtant country I paſſed through, I heard the eccleſiaſtics complain of the decay of their credit, the narrowneſs of their circumſtances, and the diſorders which were the conſequences of them; amongſt which, that they moſt enumerated and complained the moſt bitterly of, was the not having a bond of union amongſt themſelves, but every man's being allowed to be a pope in his own circle. No doubt but the reformers merited much by improvements they introduced into the eccleſiaſtical police as connected with the civil, I mean by their baniſhment of celibacy, faſts, Popiſh diſpenſations and indulgencies; but theſe improvements are conſiſtent with the exiſtence of the Catholic religion, and have been introduced more or leſs into ſeveral countries. The trade of indulgencies is ruined almoſt over the

the whole Catholic world. Even the Spaniards and Portugueſe cruſades, formerly the moſt productive of all, now bring in very little to the holy father. For a long time purgatory has only produced the trifling ſums which monks, religious brotherhoods, and other communities, whoſe feſtivals are connected with indulgencies, pay for their bulls of foundation; and this ſource of revenue is now almoſt dried up; for in moſt Catholic countries there are no erections of new cloyſters, nor new fraternities, nor any introduction of new feſtivals; on the contrary, they are endeavouring as faſt as they can to aboliſh the old. Indeed it is only to the eccleſiaſtics of the Catholic countries that purgatory is at all productive; but I have ſeen the eccleſiaſtics of Proteſtant countries uſe artifices to extort money from their people, particularly the peaſants, far more dangerous than purgatory, which, after all, produced only offerings freely given.

The great merit of the reformers conſiſts in the change which their reformation made in the morals of the people: indulgencies, proceſſions, feſtivals, faſts, and the like, might have been cut off by the civil power, without its having made any ſeparation in the church; but no civil power can at once render a debauched, diſſipated

people induſtrious and frugal. Luther, who was not the beſt œconomiſt himſelf, preached nothing up ſo much as abſtinence, frugality, and induſtry. The Calviniſts went ſtill farther; they taught that the world was a place of torment, and that the true life of man conſiſted in the mortification of the fleſh. Their catechiſm forbad all enjoyments, and made a ſin of laughter. A man muſt read Swift's writings to ſee how much farther the Calviniſts went in this point than the Lutherans. It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that this command of abſtinence is the cauſe why the Calviniſts are every where richer than the Lutherans; for they are neither more active nor more induſtrious than theſe, but, on the contrary, their melancholy humour, (a conſequence of their education and their manners) which amongſt the common people, in many countries, almoſt borders on ſtupidity, renders them heavy at every thing; indeed this is the reaſon that they have not done ſo much in the arts as either the Lutherans or the Catholics. I remember to have read in an Engliſh Review, an eſtimate of the proportion between the artiſts and ingenious men produced by the Puritans or Calviniſts, and thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church; according to this account, the former ſtood to the latter as one to ſix, and yet the diſſenters make two fifths of the

the inhabitants of England.—The Dutchman lives more carkingly in the midſt of his money, than the Catholics and Lutherans of middling incomes in other places; he knows no pleaſure in the whole world, except that of ſitting over his diſh of tea in winter, to converſe about war or peace, and in ſummer viſiting his garden once a week; he is tedious, and in a certain degree torpid about his buſineſs, and it is to his indefatigable attention to the main chance, but ſtill more to his niggardlineſs, that he is indebted for his riches. This is the character of the Calviniſt every where; and the ſpirit, which is a conſequence of this melancholy humour, allows ſome of them frauds in the daily trade and intercourſe of life, which a Catholic or Lutheran would conſider as manifeſt cheating. They have a text of ſcripture ready for all occaſions, but give the preference to this, *be ye wiſe as ſerpents*.—The Memnonites and Quakers are ſtill more niggardly than the Calviniſts, and in conſequence much richer, but likewiſe ſtill duller; theſe, as far as I can perceive, have no genius whatever for the arts.

It was natural enough to expect, that the reformation ſhould here and there lead to abſurdities, and that men would go from one extreme to the other; but as only a part of the Proteſt-

ants have carried theſe tenets to this exceſs, they are as profitable to the whole ſtate, as they are probably pernicious to the happineſs of the individual. Though the immenſe riches of the Dutch contribute little to render them happier than poorer people, they enable them, not only to ſupport the greateſt wars for themſelves, but to furniſh friends and foes with conſiderable ſums.

As for the Lutherans, they poſſeſs part of the humour of their founder, and to a high degree of induſtry and frugality unite a great love of pleaſure and jollity, which makes the enjoyment of ſociety. The unnatural hatred to pleaſure does not damp their wit and good humour, and they have nothing of the ſavage ſlovenlineſs, the dark hypocriſy, and the ill breeding, which diſtinguiſhes the majority of other ſects.

By theſe regulations in the manners, we ſee how powerful religion is on the hearts of men. Prior to this miracle, for it really was one, Germany was in a conſtant frenzy; drinking, dancing, and intriguing, kept prieſts and laity in a perpetual dream, and ſenſeleſs ſpectacles of every kind contributed their ſhare to the perverſion of the underſtanding; when lo! in an inſtant, the people ran from the alehouſes and brothels to church, opened

opened their eyes, believed, and became induſtrious, frugal, and active.

To bring about ſuch a change as this was, required a degree of reſolution, which is only to be met with among a barbarous people, ſuch as the Germans of that time were. When pleaſure has once enervated a nation, nothing of the kind is more to be expected. In the ſouthern parts of Germany, particularly in Bavaria, the object would be as difficult to compaſs as it is deſirable.

LETTER XLVII.

Berlin.

MY way hither lay through Wittemberg, a good looking town, but which ſtill preſerves the marks of the frequent change of maſters it underwent in the laſt Sileſian war, and which it has not yet entirely recovered. It ſhould be properly the capital of the electorate, but muſt yield the firſt place to Leipſick. Indeed, in point of riches and population, it is inferior to many other towns in Saxony.

As far as the Elbe, the country is as well cultivated as Upper Saxony, and ſeems to have the ſame ſoil; but you are hardly got a poſt beyond Wittemberg, before you diſcover a great alteration; inſtead of the rich black ſoil of Saxony, you meet with nothing but ſand; there is alſo a tedious uniformity in the proſpect: there are large moraſſes near the rivers, and the number of thick black woods give the whole an unpleaſing appearance. Of all the German provinces I have hitherto paſſed through, nature ſeems to have treated Brandenburg the moſt like a ſtep-mother.

The

The inhabitants endeavour to remedy the niggardlineſs of nature by their induſtry. Whereever the ſoil has allowed of any kind of agriculture, they have made the beſt of it. The appearance of the villages and farms, as well as of their inhabitants, beſpeaks proſperity.

My own experience confirms what ſeveral other travellers have obſerved before me. The cuſtom-houſe officers in Pruſſia are neither ſo tedious, nor ſo diſtreſſing and vexatious to a traveller, as thoſe of Auſtria; they are for the moſt part intelligible, ſenſible men, and by no means ſo deſpotic and booriſh as the Auſtrian gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion.

Berlin is a remarkably beautiful and magnificent city, and may certainly be looked upon as one of the fineſt in Europe. It has nothing of the uniformity, which in the long run makes the appearance of moſt of the new and regular built towns tireſome. The architecture, the diſtribution of the buildings, the appearance of the ſquares, the plantations of trees both in theſe and the ſtreets; every thing, in a word, beſpeaks taſte and variety.

I have been for ſome days reconnoitring the town according to my common cuſtom. Berlin is not ſo large as either Paris or Vienna; it is about four miles and a half long from the *Muhlenthor*,

lenthor, which is ſouth-eaſt, to the *Oranienburgerthor* north-weſt, and about three miles broad from the *Bernaverthor* to the north-eaſt, to the *Potſdamerthor* to the ſouth-weſt; but within this extenſive encloſure there are many gardens, and in ſome parts even fields taken in; there are not more than ſix thouſand houſes in this town, whereas in Paris there are near thirty thouſand. The emptineſs of many places is a ſingular contraſt to the magnificence of the buildings.

Nor is the contraſt of this magnificence with the circumſtances of the people leſs ſtriking. Sometimes while you are ſtanding gazing at the beauty of a building in the Ionic ſtyle, finely ſtuccoed, with a magnificent front, and all the outward appearance of the habitation of a farmer general, or at leaſt a duke; on a ſudden a window opens in the lower ſtory, and a cobler brings out a pair of boots and hangs them under your noſe, in order to dry the leather. As you are loſt in wonder at this phænomenon, the ſecond ſtory opens, and a breeches-maker treats you with a pair of new waſhed breeches; a little while after another window opens in the ſame ſtory, and a taylor hangs out a waiſtcoat before you, or ſome woman, empties a diſh of *potatoe* parings on your head: well, you go on a few ſteps farther, and

come to a palace of the Corinthian order, which looks like a houſe belonging to a miſtreſs of the king, or of one of the princes of the blood. Scarce have your wandering eyes reached the top, but you are ſaluted by a Jew from the attic ſtory, who aſks you whether you have any thing to ſwop; you caſt your eyes a ſtory lower, and behold ſhirts hanging out to dry, which belong to an officer who is ſhaving himſelf, and whom you would hardly conceive to have two ſhirts belonging to him. You march on through two or three ſtreets of the ſame kind, and in all of them ſee inhabitants of the ſame ſort; at laſt you arrive at the houſe of a general officer, as you eaſily diſcover by the guard before the door; but you ſee neither porter, nor running footmen, nor any thing of the train of attendants of the nobility at Vienna.

I have now been three days in the houſe of a privy-counſellor, and am fortunate enough to have a lord of the war-office for my fellow-tenant. It was impoſſible for me to remain at the inn. The hoſt made bows upon bows, and was ſo very civil, that I had my ſuſpicions of him the very firſt moment; nor was I miſtaken, for upon my ſtaying dinner the next day at a gentleman's houſe, for whom I had letters of recommendation from Dreſden, at my return he

made his remarks upon it; and the day after took it in ſerious dudgeon, that I would not leave a fine garden and good company, I had ſtrolled to, and walk three miles home to add another item to his reckoning. We were, however, reconciled; but as he perceived I was one of thoſe who do not hold long converſations with inn-keepers, he came into my room, and would read me the Berlin newſpapers, which for lies and nonſenſe are not behind hand with the French ones. As he was going on with the weighty and important intelligence, that a Pruſſian general had died of the gout; that his royal highneſs Prince Henry was gone a journey to Rhinſberg; that a perſon in the *Newmark*, who was a man of letters, was afflicted with the cholic; and that the wife of a general officer in Sileſia was ſafely delivered of a daughter, I ſnatched the paper out of his hands. He took this affront ſo civilly, that I was on the point of forgiving the inſolence of the night before, when he gave me to underſtand, that he could provide me with a companion to ſleep with, as well as with my board, if I choſe it; upon this I immediately went out to look for a private houſe, it being a maxim with me, that every inn-keeper who is a bawd, is of courſe a cheat. In general, the inn-keepers of this place ſeem to be a peculiar kind of people;

people; they are all outrageouſly civil at firſt, but extremely ſurly when they meet with any one who does not chooſe to be impoſed on by them; there is likewiſe no end of their impertinent queſtions, and when they have no girls in the houſe, they make it no ſecret, that this is an article which they undertake to provide ſtrangers with. They have liſts in which the ladies of the neighbourhood are ſorted according to their prices, and a ſervant is always ready to fetch the wares which the ſtranger bargains for. My landlord, the privy counſellor, aſſured me, that there was hardly one landlord in twenty who did not deal in this trade.

A traveller who comes out of Bohemia into Saxony, is apt to be ſtruck with the dearneſs of proviſions in the latter, but it is nothing to what he meets with when he comes from Saxony hither. Several cauſes contribute to this, among which may be enumerated the natural poverty of the country in ſeveral commodities, the high cuſtoms, and many monopolies. To give you a ſmall idea of the latter, the meaſure of wood, which you know coſts a trifle at Paris, here comes to a guinea and a half, notwithſtanding that Brandenburg is full of woods of all ſorts. Indeed the ſmall quantity of money in circulation, and the

the p rice of every neceſſary of life, forms a ſtrong contraſt betwixt this place and Vienna. At Vienna you are amazed that, with ſuch a circulation of money, every thing can be ſo cheap, and here can hardly conceive how, with ſo ſmall a proportion of caſh, every thing can be ſo dear. Conceive that you pay ſix or ſeven livres here for a bottle of Burgundy which has nothing but the name of Burgundy; our common wines of Orleanois, Iſle de France, Guyenne, &c. ſell for three or four livres a bottle. Indeed, the king is a little too hard upon the drinkers of wine.

In all the private houſes I have hitherto ſeen, there prevails a rigid œconomy in the kitchen, cellar, and indeed in every part: the only article of expence is dreſs; but you ſee that the belly has been pinched for the ſake of powder and ruffles. The ladies dreſs in the faſhion, and I ſaw ſome ornaments in very great taſte, and very rich.

There is no town in Europe, except Conſtantinople, which has ſo numerous a garriſon as Berlin has: it conſiſts of twenty-ſix thouſand men. For a little money you may have every thing done for you by a ſoldier; they clean your ſhoes, waſh, mend, pimp, and, in ſhort, do all that is done elſewhere by Savoyards and old women. They are alſo in the cuſtom of begging

begging of ſtrangers, not abſolutely charity, but ſomething to drink, with which, however, they commonly purchaſe ſomething to eat, as the Sprey has water enough to quench their thirſt. They are not ſo ſurly as the Imperial troops, and you meet with ſeveral ſenſible men amongſt them.

As far as I can hitherto ſee of the people of this place, they are better provided, as to the upper region or head, than the inhabitants of Vienna, but cannot vie with them in the middle regions, the belly, and the pockets. The vacuum in thoſe, particularly the purſe, may eaſily be diſcovered by an attentive obſerver, and it ſtrikes a ſtranger forcibly. They have indeed ſo little reſpect for the eyes and ears of the public, that officers and counſellors will drive a bargain for guilders with Jews in a public coffee-houſe, a thing I ſaw with my own eyes the day after I arrived here. The merchants, manufacturers, and that part of the nobility which have places, deal ſo myſteriouſly in all matters of money, that you find it very difficult to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who have not any. On the other hand, you obſerve here ſuch an information with regard to the ſtate of the country, ſuch a freedom in diſcourſing on the meaſures of government, ſuch a national pride,

ſuch

ſuch a participation in every public occurrence; and in the military and civil officers, ſuch an activity for the ſtate, and (notwithſtanding their ſmall ſalaries) ſuch a jealouſy of doing their duty, that in all theſe reſpects you would think yourſelf in London. This is an evident ſign, that the ſpirit of a people does not depend upon the form, but on the adminiſtration of a government, and that patriotiſm is not the excluſive privilege of republics. They talk here about the king's regulations, as well as about his *emiſſions* and *commiſſions*, with a degree of freedom, that you would only expect to find in an Engliſhman.

Though I have been here but a ſhort time, I think I can take upon me to contradict an opinion, which has pretty generally gone abroad, upon the authority of ſome gentlemen who have travelled poſt through the country, about the *myſteriouſneſs* of this government. It is ſaid, that there is a cloud round the king's operations, and that all is ſupported by his power; for my own part, I have not ſeen a more open or more popular government than this is, that of England itſelf not excepted. The whole plan of adminiſtration appears to me ſo plain, and at all times ſo open to every man's inſpection, that I cannot conceive how ſo falſe an eſtimate

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can have been made. Some Engliſhmen, who think that the eſſence of liberty conſiſts in babbling, and giving vent in parliament to every ſpecies of ill-humour; and, who from their impudence and ſelf-ſufficiency, are the worſt obſervers that travel, have moſt probably ſpread this opinion. It is not, however, neceſſary to be long in the country to diſcover that the king is no fonder of clandeſtine meaſures than he is of his power. The department of foreign affairs, and poſſibly ſome things which relate to the diſcipline of the army, are the only things which are kept in ſome obſcurity; and ſurely no man will expect, that the king will ſuffer his correſpondence with his miniſters, and the ſecret of his treaties, to be printed and ſold in the ſhops: but I will talk to you more at length about this another time.

LETTER

LETTER XLVIII.

Berlin.

FORGIVE me, brother, for having made you wait ſome time for a letter; but I have made ſeveral excurſions through the country, and will now ſit down to give you an account of my peregrinations.

I was three days at Potſdam. This city has ſtill finer houſes in it than thoſe at Berlin; but, like theſe, they are inhabited only by perſons of the lower and middling ranks. The ſituation of the town was much extolled to me, and for a country with ſo much ſameneſs in it as Brandenburg has, it may paſs for a fine one: Neither, however, the buildings nor the ſituation were the chief objects of my viſit here; what I came for was to ſee the king, who has for ſo many years been the god of the Pariſian idolatry, the wonder of all Europe, the maſter and terror of his foes, and, in ſhort, who throughout all the neighbouring ſtates is called The King *par excellence*. I was told that I might very eaſily be preſented to him, but I have always thought it a great piece of impertinence to think ſo lightly

of

of the leiſure of a mighty monarch, as to introduce yourſelf to him without the ſmalleſt pretenſion. I had the good fortune to ſee him twice on horſeback on the parade, where, however, he is not ſo regular an attendant as formerly.

All the prints I have hitherto ſeen of him are only half lengths; but there are many copies of a very good picture, in which he is drawn at full length. You may ſee one of theſe at Madam S—'s, at Paris, and they are ſo common here, that you meet with them in ſeveral inns. The original was painted by an Italian, who having been extremely fortunate in hitting off the likeneſs, the king ſuffered copies of the picture tobe taken by many good maſters here, and made preſents of them to ſeveral German princes, and thus the copies have become common. Heavily as the hand of age now ſeems to lye on this immortal man, the very ſtrong likeneſs of the face ſtill remains. The king of Pruſſia is hardly of the middling ſize, but ſtrong built and thick ſet. His body is now much bent, and his head ſhakes, but his eyes are ſtill piercing, and roll about when he is obſerving. Peace, order, reſolution, and earneſtneſs are marked upon his face. There is likewiſe that particular look about him, which is common to all great perſonages,

ſonages, and which I ſhould call indifference to all that ſurrounds him, were it not that you ſee evidently, that he takes an uncommon intereſt in the things which he conceives ſpecially to belong to his province. The editor of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*, Mr. Pilati, ſays, that every thing at Berlin and Potſdam is carried on in ſilence, and that nothing can be known either of the king's private life, or of his public affairs. There is an univerſal opinion of the kind gone out about this court: If you will believe ſome Engliſhmen, eſpecially Mr. Wraxall, the genius which animates the Pruſſian monarchy, is a man-hating, light-ſhunning genius, who in imperceptible darkneſs ſtrikes conſtantly at the eſtates of the ſubjects and lays ſnares for them. It is impoſſible to form a falſer judgment of the king. Mr. Pilati, who contradicts himſelf in more places than one, ſays in another part of his letters, that the king's hours are ſo regularly diſtributed, that at any time you may know what he is then doing. Indeed the true cauſe why ſo little is to be ſaid of the king's private life, is the great ſimplicity and regularity of it. Here is no miniſter to enter into intrigues with, to ruin a man of honour who ſtands in his way; no miſtreſs whoſe humour a man muſt ſtudy to get the favourable minute to obtain a right, or

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have juſtice done him for an injury, or of whoſe adventures he muſt keep a regiſter, to revenge himſelf on her by bon-mots, epigrams, and anecdotes;—no queen to puzzle and perplex the court every morning with the very great problem, whether ſhe has ſlept with her huſband or not, whether ſhe is breeding or not, and whether the faſhion will not undergo ſome revolution, commanded by her Majeſty, in the courſe of the enſuing week. The princes and princeſſes of the blood have neither diſputes for precedency to ſettle, nor cabals to contrive, nor large play debts to diſcharge, nor any of the mighty buſineſſes which are the daily occupations of other courts to diſpatch; the king neither hunts nor goes to balls or theatres (a few operas only excepted); he has no occaſion to adviſe with a miniſter of finance, how, or from what funds the miſtreſs's new dreſs, or her new houſe, or her new garden, or her journey to—ſhall be paid;—nothing is undertaken here for which the money is not ready. The king of Pruſſia has neither favourite, nor confeſſor, nor court fool (who, *mutatis mutandis*, is ſtill in good credit in the other courts of Germany, and whoſe part the confeſſor moſtly plays).

Under theſe circumſtances the court anecdotes of the day muſt neceſſarily be very few;

but yet the king gives himſelf ſo little trouble to be concealed, that as the Engliſhman, Moore, obſerves, it is no difficult matter to arrive at his bed-chamber unperceived: he is ſurrounded neither by a guard or a ſwarm of footmen and *valets de chambre*; he often walks alone in the gardens of Sans-Soucy, and wherever he is, except at a review, no man is kept at a diſtance.

It is owing to the ſame ſimplicity and order which obtains in his private life, that the operations of the king of Pruſſia's government make ſo little noiſe. Whoever conſiders his adminiſtration as myſterious, or his dealings as eſtabliſhed in intrigue, falls into the error ſo common to all us mortals, of thinking there is intrigue wherever there is ſimplicity; hence it is, that we do not ſee the truth that is under our noſes. Sometimes, however, a man's over zeal works out ſomewhat bitter from his own gall, and this I conceive to have been Mr. Wraxall's caſe.

It is true, that the king neither holds ſtated councils, nor yet a *Lit de Juſtice*; he has no parliament whoſe members are promoted for their flatteries, and baniſhed for their oppoſition. The princes of the blood have no opportunity of compelling him by *repreſentations* or *proteſta-*

tions againſt his meaſures, either to forbid them appearing at court on certain days, or to pay their debts; men of honour are not baniſhed from him by *Lettres de Cachet*, nor can the miniſters cabal againſt them; neither is this king compelled to appeal to the love and patriotiſm of his ſubjects, as often as the invention of the miniſter of finance is exhauſted, and the poor man has no artifice, ſave flattery, left to wring the laſt penny from their purſes; he knows nothing of ſtate lotteries, nor of annuities, nor of loans, nor of new *vingtiemes*, nor of augmenting the capitation; he has no *dons gratuits* to expect from his clergy, nor is he obliged to threaten them with reformation in religion, if they will not make him the preſents required; he has no biſhops nor *ſorbonne*, who impriſon ſenſible men, and take away their character in the public eſtimation, in order to preſerve their own places: his miniſters can neither make parties amongſt themſelves, nor play at *the blind cow* with him.—All this muſt in truth render the government very uniform, and affords very little ſubject for news.

I ſpent many days in conſidering in what part of this adminiſtration it would be poſſible to introduce myſtery, without being able to make a probable conjecture. There is, indeed, a

myſtery incidental to foreign affairs, from the very nature of them, which even the Engliſh miniſtry contrive religiouſly to conceal from the eyes of parliament; but as to home occaſions, neither the religion, the nobility, nor any part of the ſtate is ever at variance with the whole. Far from endeavouring to undermine the rights of the nobility, the king takes all poſſible pains to maintain them in the full poſſeſſion of them. He has aſſiſted the Sileſian nobility, who are the moſt powerful in his country, by lending them large ſums of money, at one and a half per cent. The ſame thing has been done for the nobility of other countries who have wanted his aſſiſtance. No community, city, or religious order, is in the leaſt danger of having their privileges intruded upon, as long as they are not detrimental to the advantage of the whole. The rich cloyſters in Sileſia and the Weſtern Pruſſia, have not the leaſt thing to apprehend.

The Pruſſian government is generally conſidered in other countries as the moſt deſpotic that exiſts, though, in fact, nothing can be leſs ſo. The maxim which is the foundation of the Britiſh conſtitution, *Lex in regno ſuo ſuperiores habet Deum et Regem*, is no where ſo well obſerved as it is here. People will not ſurely call a rigid obſervation of the laws which promote the good

good of the ſtate deſpotiſm; and what inſtances are there of the king's ever having allowed himſelf any thing that beſpoke arbitrary ſentiments? In no country are the rights of reaſon, the rights of nature, the cuſtoms, and particular ſtatutes which do not militate againſt the happineſs of the whole, better obſerved and guarded, than they are in the Pruſſian dominions. No where does government direct all its ſteps ſo exactly according to the rule of right as it does here. The ſtrongeſt proof that can be given of this aſſertion, is the conſideration of the adminiſtration of finances. Taxes are the only mark of univerſal deſpotiſm, all other acts of power affecting only particular perſons, and chiefly thoſe who for their own intereſt ſubject themſelves to them; but taxes are levied equally upon all the people. Let us therefore ſee how it is with taxes in the Pruſſian dominions.

Excluſive of the crown lands, mines, manufactures, and other revenues of royalty, the finance ſyſtem of the king of Pruſſia reſts upon the two plaineſt grounds that can be, the taxes and cuſtoms. The taxes fall upon the moſt numerous and moſt uſeful claſs of the people, to wit, the farmers and holders of land; and they are as moderate when compared with the value of things, as thoſe of any other country in Eu-

rope. The farmers in the Pruſſian dominions, as the Engliſhman Moore himſelf acknowledges, are as well off as thoſe of any other country whatever: they compoſe at leaſt three-fourths of the king's ſubjects; and the good circumſtances of ſo large a part of the nation, is a good compenſation in the eyes of humanity for the nobility not being ſo rich as in England and France. In both theſe countries the farmers, though they conſtitute what is properly called the nation, or people, are the laſt thought of by the government.

It is worth while to compare the ſtate of the Engliſh farmers with that of the Pruſſian ones; as it is by ſuch compariſons alone that we can form to ourſelves diſtinct notions of liberty and deſpotiſm, as well as of the little dependance that is to be placed on the accounts of things given by Engliſh travellers, who are wont to treat as ſlaves all nations who have no nabobs, nor lords, nor corrupt brawlers in parliament, nor yet a king whom every raſcal is at liberty to throw dirt at under the maſk of patriotiſm.

The ſubſtantial Engliſh farmers cannot be taken into our compariſon, on account of the ſmallneſs of their numbers; for, according to the accounts the Engliſh writers themſelves give,

give, they hardly make the ſixtieth part of the whole, and are exactly what the poſſeſſors of ſmall eſtates and the farmers of the crown lands are here; or rather the number of theſe is much greater in Pruſſia than that of the ſubſtantial farmers in England.

The number of yeomen, freeholders, and copy-holders, who have the right of chuſing members of parliament, is alſo very ſmall, and it is well known that their right of election is a vain title. The nobility, whoſe tenants they are in great meaſure, or who can bring them under their dominion various ways, rob them of their votes either by open power or ſecret bribery.

In the preſent ſtate of things in England, the farmer has evidently no ſhare in the legiſlation; he is in the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the word, a ſlave of a ſuperior order. He is compelled to go as a ſoldier or ſailor to America, or the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, and the higheſt and leſs numerous claſs of the people enjoy the fruits of his labours. The quantity of gold which he brings back to England, at the expence of his blood, raiſes the price of things, ſo that he is not able to export the produce of his lands; and a part of the beſt land in Europe muſt have remained uncultivated, had not parliament granted ſuch large bounties on exportation, as enabled the holders of it to ſupport

the competition of other nations: nor can even this precarious ſtate of the corn trade laſt longer than till ſuch times as the navy of Ruſſia and the other ſtates, which border on Poland, ſhall improve. As ſoon as Ruſſia and Pruſſia ſhall have a ſufficient navy, and the agriculture of Poland is become what it is capable of being brought to, the Engliſh corn trade will of courſe be deſtroyed. That ſyſtem of convenience, which Great Britain has taken up for ſo many years paſt in defiance of juſtice and the law of nations, is as oppreſſive to the farmer, as it is advantageous to the nobility and trading part of the country. It is the former who muſt fight out the wars which this ſyſtem introduces; they are principally affected by the ſtagnation and fall of national credit, the immenſe debt of the country, and the exchange of coin for paper-money. The increaſe of taxes, in the caſe of a war, all fall ultimately upon them, as this event at once takes a great number of hands from the plough, and the internal conſumption is leſſened by the abſence of ſo many thouſand men from their native country. The dangers of the ſea, and the political ſtate in which Great Britain has been for theſe fourſcore years paſt, almoſt confine their corn trade to the countries from which the largeſt quantities are exported

ported in time of peace. A long war neceſſarily occaſions a great increaſe of ſtreet robbers and thieves, who are all of the claſs of farmers, and are a new plague to the country-people. The wars England has been engaged in during the laſt century, which taken altogether occupy half that period, have diminiſhed the population, to the great detriment of agriculture. Whatever is ſaid of the population of England, it does not bear any proportion to thoſe of France, Italy, and Germany, the ſize of the reſpective countries being taken into the account. In theſe countries there are two thouſand five hundred men to every ſquare mile, and in England hardly one thouſand nine hundred; and yet it has a greater proportion of the neceſſaries of life than any country.

Blinded by a falſe appearance of freedom, the Engliſh farmer thinks that he is fighting for the good of his country, whilſt in fact he is fighting to ſupport the vices of the great. This is the true cauſe why ſome Engliſh writers have thought, that inſtructing farmers prejudiced the ſtate, and have contended for keeping them in a ſtate of ſavage barbarity, as a thing eſſential to the happineſs of the whole. The true meaning of this is, that the nation would have ſoldiers and ſailors to fight through ſtorms and batteries

batteries for a freedom which hardly a twentieth part of the nation poſſeſſes.

Dr. Moore thinks that the king of Pruſſia's reaſon for contributing ſo much to the proſperity of his farmers is, that they may ſupply him with ſoldiers. None but an Engliſhman, who is uſed to diſtort every thing to the opinion which beſt ſuits his prejudices, could have had ſuch an idea. Hardly two-fifths of the Pruſſian army conſiſt of farmers ſons; above half are foreigners, and the other half is made up equally from town and country. Pilati flatly contradicts Moore in this particular. He informs us, that the Pruſſian armies are made up of men which ancient Rome would not have accepted of for her defenders, to wit, manufacturers. I ſhall not take up your time nor my own in writing down any more of theſe conceits, which only make a ſenſible man laugh. The king of Pruſſia, as the reaſon of things directs, and far differently from the Engliſh legiſlature, conſiders the peaſants as the moſt uſeful members of the community. He does not trouble himſelf with foreign colonies, which deprive the land of the hands neceſſary to till it, and which the peaſant is obliged to defend for the advantage of the diſſipated part of the nation. His ſyſtem of politics reſts neither on being

being maſter of the ſea, nor on the vanity of interfering in all the concerns of the European powers, for the ſake of having the doubtful name of the maintainer of the balance and freedom of Europe, which has embroiled the Engliſh in ſo many wars, whatever may have been falſely ſaid to the contrary. His peaſants, as I will ſhew you in a future letter, are in no danger of being the victims of ambition, as thoſe of England conſtantly are. It is impoſſible for the Pruſſians ever to be put to the difficulty of not being able to part with what their land produces. In England, according to the account of the beſt politicians, large tracts of the beſt land is uncultivated. In Pruſſia, even the dry ſands are ploughed. In England a man of fortune has it in his power to put a forced price upon the corn in the market to his own profit, and to the great detriment of the neighbouring farmers. Here the country is not only free from all ſuch acts of power of the nobility, but the king, by wiſe regulations and by magazines, contrives to keep the corn at a conſtant high price: this he effects by wiſe regulations, and laying out large ſums to keep his granaries always full. The bounty granted by the Engliſh parliament for the exportation of corn, bears no proportion to the ſums ſpent by the king of Pruſſia

Pruſſia on the improvement of agriculture. He not only gives thoſe who are inclined to improve the waſte lands, wood for building, cattle, and ſtock of all kinds, but lays out large ſums of money amongſt the poor farmers. For ſeveral years paſt he has given the inhabitants of the *Middlemark* alone 10,000 thalers a year, and, according to a computation made, he gives every year about 700,000 guilders i. e. 2,500,000 French livres amongſt the poor farmers. The yearly outgoings for colonies, cauſeways, canals, &c. all which have the advancement of agriculture in view, coſt him no leſs. The great advantage which the Pruſſian farmer has over the Engliſh, that which renders him, without a doubt, the freeſt and happieſt farmer upon earth, is, that his land-tax is never increaſed; this circumſtance alone would be ſufficient to ſilence all the clamours raiſed about Pruſſian deſpotiſm, were the perſons who raiſe them capable of any ſhame, or did they take any trouble to ſee more of the country than it is poſſible they ſhould ſee by riding poſt through it.

The taxes in the king of Pruſſia's dominions are ſubject to no alteration. In the very preſſure of the Sileſian war, when all Europe thought that the Pruſſian country muſt be drained to the uttermoſt farthing, they were not raiſed a ſixpence;

pence; and had the war been longer and ſtill more violent, they would not have been raiſed. This is due to the perfect knowledge which the king has of the ſtate of the country, and his averſion to deſpotiſm and arbitrary power. He knew that taxes are doubly diſtreſſing to the farmers amidſt the deſolations and diſtreſſes of war, and that any increaſe of them muſt be extremely pernicious, at a time when from the abſence of the troops the conſumption of the produce is leſſened, the country plundered by incurſions of the enemy, and many uſeful hands taken from the plough.

Mr. Pilati, who does juſtice to the king's attention to the improvement of agriculture, concludes what he ſays on this ſubject with this remark: Notwithſtanding all that the king has done to promote it, agriculture will not flouriſh in the Pruſſian dominions, on account of the ſmallneſs of the circulation. I could obſerve no diſtreſs ariſing from any circumſtance of this kind; on the contrary, what I ſaw of the dreſs, the furniture of their houſes, and the way of life, beſpoke a degree of eaſe, which approached very nearly to luxury; indeed, it appears *a priori*, that the inhabitants of the country cannot be expoſed to that want of money which is felt in the great towns; they are the great canals,

canals, or, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the great *reſervoirs* of the gold, which comes to them through the ſmall canals of the ſtate, and returns from them through ſmall canals to the body. The whole machine of government is calculated for their benefit: they feel the exciſe and monopolies leſs than any perſons, and may free themſelves entirely from their burthens, if, according to the king's paternal requiſition, they will abſtain from luxury. It is the manufacturers, artiſts, petty tradeſmen, and above all, the lower and middling inhabitants of the great cities, who are compelled to conſume the productions of the country, and the farmer has all the benefit of it; indeed, the whole Pruſſian ſyſtem of cuſtoms is adapted for the peculiar advantage of the latter; for inſtance, the object in the extravagant duties on foreign wines, is to compel the people to drink the beer of the country, in the making of which the farmer employs his barley and his hops. The ſoldier gives every thing to the farmer; his clothing, his eating, his drinking, all contribute to the proſperity of the inhabitant of the country. An evident reaſon why the Pruſſian farmers muſt be the very people who can know no want of money, is, that the productions of the country are much

much dearer than they are in any of the neighbouring countries, though the ſale is much greater.

I have read in a German review the account of a work, the author of which attempts to prove, that the advantages enjoyed by the Pruſſian farmers over the other orders of the ſtate, will ſome time or other prove dangerous to the conſtitution; but is it not natural, is it not republican, is it not conſonant to the dignity of man to conceive, that the moſt uſeful, and moſt numerous part of a community ſhould have the greateſt authority in it? Shall a parcel of lords poſſeſs all the advantages of that freedom which the farmer is obliged to give his blood to defend?

Mr. Pilati, who often contradicts what he has proved, and often proves what he has contradicted, makes a remark in his account of Sicily, which, though it does not agree with what he himſelf had ſaid before of the ſtate of agriculture in Pruſſia, does great honour to the Pruſſian adminiſtration. After having contraſted the profuſe bleſſings of nature in this iſland, with her ſtepmother treatment of the countries under the Pruſſian dominions, he tells us, that notwithſtanding this, the Pruſſian farmers are happier than thoſe of Sicily. What a god-like adminiſtration muſt that be, which

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makes the inhabitants of a ſandy waſte happier than the poſſeſſors of a country, which both ancient and modern writers extol as a miracle of fruitfulneſs and wealth! The land in Sicily produces a hundred fold, and in Pruſſia it is a miracle when the Mays yields ſeven or eight times, and the corn twelve or fifteen times, what has been ſown. The Sicilians, beſides the corn trade, have oil, ſilk, wine, citrons, oranges, ſugar, and ſeveral other moſt valuable articles. The Pruſſians have only a few turneps, crab-apples, and nuts; and yet the latter are richer than the former: and is it not far more honourable to the adminiſtration of Pruſſia, that notwithſtanding the niggardlineſs of nature, the greateſt part of the inhabitants are happier, than if it poſſeſſed a dozen lords Clive, Cavendiſh, and Baltimore, and three ſcore dukes Pignatelli, Monteleone, and Matalone? If one conſiders, as it is juſt to do, the very unfavourable ſoil that was to be worked upon, it will appear that the king has done wonders in agriculture. I ſaw ſeveral tracts of cultivated land, which fourteen or fifteen years ago were barren ſands. The number of villages and houſes in his ſeveral dominions, which he has either made, or ſo improved, that they are not to be known again, amounts to ſeveral hundreds.

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As the moraſſes contain ſome of the beſt land here, he ſpends immenſe ſums in drying them; upon the whole, you ſee that agriculture here, is what nature preſcribes it ſhall be, the groundwork of every political operation of the country.—The miniſters and privy-counſellors dedicate to the improvement of it thoſe private hours, which in other countries they give to pleaſure, play, or caballing for each others places. The prime-miniſter *Hertſberg*, who, in every ſenſe of the word, is one of the greateſt men of the preſent century, has an eſtate ſome miles from hence, in the improvement of which he ſpends his hours of relaxation from the cares of ſtate. In almoſt every village you meet with a nobleman, whoſe principal occupation is agriculture, and who poſſeſſes the art of making his amuſement and buſineſs coincide. In order to find out to what produce the ſoil of Pruſſia is beſt adapted, they not only import ſeeds from Poland, Ruſſia, England, Sicily, and the other countries of Europe, but have made ſeveral fine experiments with corn from Barbary and Egypt. The moſt brilliant æra of the king's government, in his own eyes, is that which is diſtinguiſhed by ſome uſeful improvement in agriculture. I was told an anecdote which does him more honour than the emperor

of China derives from opening the ground with a golden plough. There is a privy-counſellor here of the name of Brenkenhoff, a man who, born without a penny, had made himſelf worth millions by his induſtry. This gentleman, ſome years ſince, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his improvements in agriculture. Amongſt other things, he ſent for rye from Archangel, which ſucceeded ſo well, that by degrees they begged his ſeeds all through Pomerania, Sileſia, Brandenburgh, and Pruſſia; and the country gained conſiderable ſums, which before uſed to be paid to the Poles and Ruſſians for this commodity. In conſequence of this, whenever Mr. Brenkenhoff has any thing to aſk of the king for himſelf or the province, he always couches his requeſt in the following manner: 'Had not I 'brought rye from Archangel, your majeſty 'and your ſubjects would have been without ſo 'many thouſands you now poſſeſs; it is there-'fore fit and proper that you likewiſe grant me 'my requeſt.' The king not only makes it a rule never to deny him any thing he aſks, but has often ſaid, 'Brenkenhoff is the moſt extra-'ordinary man born in this country under my 'adminiſtration, and I am proud of him.' Mr. Brenkenhoff has imported large quantities of camels and buffaloes from Aſia, for the im-

provement of agriculture. The race of the latter thrive very well under the Pruſſian ſky. I have likewiſe ſeen ſome of them at Saltzburg, where, notwithſtanding the ſouthern ſituation, the climate is not warmer than it is in Pruſſia; but the lazineſs of this animal renders all his other advantages of no account. The experiment with camels was attended with no ſucceſs. The rearing of ſheep, and cultivation of tobacco are, after the corn trade, the great reſources of this country. They alſo make a large quantity of coarſe ſilk, but this is rather the entertainment of ſpeculative farmers, than a regular produce of the country. The nobility, clergy, and poſſeſſors of great eſtates, are the only ones who attend to it. It is, however, very remarkable, that there are twelve thouſand pounds of ſilk wove every year in Pruſſia; whilſt Hungary, whoſe climate is undoubtedly as favourable to this produce as any country in Europe, cannot raiſe above ſeven or eight thouſand pounds worth, notwithſtanding all the pains taken by government for the improvement of this branch of commerce.—Once again, brother, I muſt repeat it, the Pruſſian land-holders, who are ſecured againſt every arbitrary impoſition, and in every poſſible way ſupported and protected, are a greater ſymptom of national

tional liberty, than a dozen fat lords, or a corrupt parliament. In my next letter I will ſpeak to you of the people who really feel the preſſure of exciſe and monopolies, and amongſt whom there is of courſe extreme poverty.

I cannot ſend away this letter without obſerving, that the very way in which the king exerciſes the functions of his government, is a plain proof of his not having any ſecret or myſterious views with reſpect to any of his ſubjects. A deſpot, who is not to be confined by any regard to rectitude and juſtice, who is always diſtinguiſhing betwixt his own advantage and the utility of the whole, and who wants to cheat his people without their obſerving it, muſt have either fools for his miniſters, whom he may cheat as he does the people, or he muſt have a favourite, whom he can make uſe of for his myſterious purpoſes. Neither of theſe is the caſe with the king of Pruſſia. His miniſters and counſellors are all of them the moſt enlightened patriots; and many of them would make a figure as men of letters, if they had time, or would give themſelves the trouble of writing. With regard to a favourite, the very name is unknown in this country. Voltaire, the Marquis D'Argens, Algarotti, Quintus Icilius, and Baſtiani, were only the companions of idle hours, and knew leſs of the government

vernment than any body, as Voltaire has often proved by his *bon mots*. Theſe *beaux eſprits* were obliged to keep within their proper ſphere, and never could bring the king to be familiar with them, how little ſoever he made them feel the difference of rank in the ordinary affairs of life.

The king poſſeſſes the rare and great talent of letting himſelf down to every man, without forgetting himſelf in the leaſt. His reader and ſecretary dare not bring him either complaint or petition. The king appears to be exceedingly miſtruſtful of himſelf, and to fear leſt his daily converſation and familiarity with all ſorts of people ſhould lead him into error. His ſecretary, who paſſes ſo many hours of every day with him in private, muſt lay all the buſineſs to be done before him in form. His miniſters are the only perſons he refers to; they are the executors of his will.

It has been frequently obſerved, that no king upon the face of the earth is ſo well ſerved as the king of Pruſſia, though there is none who pays his ſervants ſo ill. But theſe good ſervants are not to be procured by mere ſeverity; they muſt have obſerved, that the king far excels them in underſtanding, and that he himſelf ſtrictly adheres to the rules of juſtice and equity, which

he lays down for the conduct of others. Had they discovered a weak side, either in the head or heart of the monarch, there would have been an end of their good services. It is only to his extreme impartiality, his justice, and his superior understanding, that we must ascribe the activity and order in the Prussian courts of justice. No prince of the blood has the slightest advantage over a farmer in a law-suit. When a dispute happens with a subject upon any part of the domain or crown lands, there is no judge who dares have a leaning towards the king's side; on the contrary, in this case they are ordered to have a leaning against him. The same aversion to despotism leads him to make it no secret, that he does not think the kings of the earth placed here as gods of it, and vicegerents of the Almighty. He looks upon the royal dignity as a station, which, like that of a general, and many others, has been established through human dispositions, and to which, in consequence of these dispositions, birth alone gives a title. He makes as little use of religion as he does of politics, to blind his people, or keep up his authority by faith and opinion. The consciousness that he is capable of no injustice or act of power, can alone set him above this Machiavelian policy. To conclude my thesis,

theſis, that the king is nothing leſs than a deſpot, I muſt obſerve, that he has no over-bearing paſſion; fame is by no means his purſuit; he deſpiſes all the applauſe of men from his heart. The great phyſiognomiſt, Lavater, muſt have obſerved in his countenance, that he deſpiſes man himſelf; at leaſt I think I can affirm, with a degree of ſufficient confidence, that the king appears leſs in no man's eyes than he does in his own. Flatterers have very little to expect from him; and thoſe who have written againſt him with the greateſt bitterneſs, may be aſſured that he has no gall againſt them. The Abbé Raynal, who is at preſent here, is a ſure proof of this. There is no place in the world in which there is leſs noiſe made about the king's actions than there is at Berlin. None of the newſpapers of the country ſay a word about them; and there would not have been a word ſaid about them at all, if ſome patriots of other countries had not taken it into their heads, of late, to blow the trumpet of fame, whenever their governors did any thing that was not palpably abſurd or impertinent. Theſe fulſome panegyriſts ſtirred up ſome Pruſſian patriots, who love their king, to ſhew the world, that Frederic, who is ſo unknown to moſt ſtrangers, does more in ſilence than half a dozen other demi

gods of the earth put together. The world was aſtoniſhed when it learned, that for years paſt, the king had diſtributed ſeveral millions amongſt his ſubjects, and the writers of newſpapers took it very ill that he had done this without their knowledge. It was not till within theſe few years, that we knew that the land-tax in the Pruſſian dominions is never altered, though this ſyſtem is as old as the time of the king's coming to the crown. Long before the philoſophers of the laſt twenty-five years (for, till within theſe laſt five and twenty years, there has been no philoſophy) began to declaim againſt capital puniſhments, the torture, and the duration of law-ſuits, all theſe things had been baniſhed out of the Pruſſian dominions, without any ſcribbler taking the trouble to ſing a *Te Deum* about it (Beccaria himſelf makes this obſervation.) Avarice is as little the king's weak ſide as the love of fame. Nobody gives more willingly than he does, when he ſees that the money is likely to be made good uſe of. He has money in his head, and not in his heart; and œconomy is one of the firſt virtues of a governor.—But I ſhall ſay more of this in my next.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

Berlin.

THROUGH all Germany, and particularly through all Saxony, it paſſes for an eſtabliſhed truth, that the king of Pruſſia knows nothing of the true principles of trade. In the Dutch coffee-houſes, thoſe eternal fountains of political nonſenſe, he is treated as an ignorant dabbler. That foreign merchants ſhould think this, or ſay ſo, does not at all ſurpriſe me: When they blame the king, they only ſpeak like the great Roman orator, *pro domo ſua*; it is impoſſible that they ſhould be pleaſed with thoſe principles which preclude them from the power of robbing the king's ſubjects of their money;—but we hear the ſame complaints *here*, and in the other countries ſubject to the king. There are men *here*, who are always crying out on exciſe, cuſtoms, and monopolies, and extolling univerſal liberty as the firſt principle of trade. It is very true, that the exciſe makes the manufactures ſo expenſive, that ſeveral of the Pruſſian, whoſe productions are extremely good, cannot

cannot ſupport a competition with thoſe of other countries. It is very true, that the many monopolies to be met with here, are a great reſtraint upon national induſtry; ſtill, however, in my opinion, the king of Pruſſia may be defended. The fact is this; every thing here is *connected*, but the true principles on which the exciſe and monopoly ſyſtems in Pruſſia are grounded are not ſeen, becauſe, like many other things in the Pruſſian dominions, they are too near the eyes—let us ſee if we can explain theſe matters a little.

Neither commerce, nor manufactures, nor the encouragement of private induſtry, which tend to produce a great inequality in national riches, and render part of the people affluent at the expence of the reſt; neither all theſe, nor any part of theſe, are the corner-ſtone of the Pruſſian edifice of ſtate; it reſts on agriculture only: and if we conſider the king of Pruſſia's politics in this point of view, we ſhall find an exact ſymmetry of parts in them.

It is on this principle, that that part of the ſubjects which is the moſt numerous, has the leaſt buſineſs, and is moſt inclined to live at the expence of the working inhabitant of the country, is obliged to contribute moſt to the expences of the ſtate. Whoever will take the

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trouble of comparing the ſeveral articles of the Pruſſian exciſe with each other, will ſoon find that they bear the exacteſt proportion poſſible to luxury, and are, as they ought to be, always the higher, the more the article of conſumption on which they are laid is remote from the firſt neceſſaries of life, which the farmer ſupplies. For this reaſon the exciſe always varies, and muſt do ſo. The king has an exact account laid before him of all the articles of luxury imported from abroad. When he ſees that the conſumption of any article riſes immoderately, he immediately leſſens it, by raiſing the exciſe on that article; he has done ſo lately by coffee, which, according to his account, had taken many millions out of his country for ſome years paſt. The meaning of this manœuvre was to recommend to his ſubjects warm beer, which is the produce of the country, is a more wholeſome, and more palatable food than coffee, and from the uſe of which he himſelf had found great benefit when he was young. Another time he obſerved, that 12,000 florins worth of eggs were every year brought to Berlin out of Saxony. In order to ſave his ſubjects this expence, he immediately laid a conſiderable tax on the Saxon eggs, and thus encouraged his own farmers to breed chickens. This principle

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is one of the plaineſt in legiſlation; it is that which prevails in all enlightened countries, only not with the ſame good ſenſe and equity as in Pruſſia. Indeed the Engliſh cuſtoms and exciſe are much more hoſtile to eating and drinking than the Pruſſian; and it is a proverb in Holland, that of every diſh of fiſh he eats, a man pays five parts to the ſtate, and one to the fiſhmonger.

The complaints which have the moſt foundation of truth in them, are thoſe which are made with reſpect to the price of the abſolute neceſſaries of life. Theſe, it is ſaid, are ſo high, that it raiſes the price of work too much, and by ſo doing tends to ruin, not only the Pruſſian manufactures, but the monopoly itſelf. But theſe taxes only affect the inhabitants of the towns, the artiſts, manufacturers, labourers, merchants, and all who live by the ſervice of the ſtate.

In order to form a juſt notion of the influence which high taxes have upon the neceſſaries of life, one ſhould conſider the connection which the induſtry of the citizen has with the productions of the country, before one allows one ſelf to think of its effects on foreign trade. The king of Pruſſia, who in every thing follows the order of nature, has not been ſo ſolicitous

licitous to procure money from foreigners, as to ſtop the channels through which his own money went out of the country. Conſider things in this light, and you will find, that the impoſts on the neceſſaries of life have not been any reſtraint on private induſtry; for the price of work has kept on a level with the price of the neceſſaries of life, and the exciſe has only been a new and larger canal to aſſiſt the circulation of money. The king, who regularly purſued his plan of making the country independant of foreign induſtry, took care that the money paid by the ſubject ſhould flow back from the exchequer by the ſureſt channels. Thus all that was ſpent by the ſoldier, and all that the inhabitants of great towns ſpent for the comforts of life, flowed back again to the farmer, and encouraged internal agriculture and induſtry. In order that this might be ſo, the duties on foreign goods, ſuch as cloths, linens, and the like, were always ſo high, that only the higheſt degree of luxury could prefer them to the ſame commodities made at home; and it was proper that thoſe who had this degree of luxury ſhould be puniſhed for it.

As to the exportation of Pruſſian manufactures, which of courſe would be affected by the exciſe; all that is to be ſaid, is, that the leſſer evil is to be

be preferred to a greater. Luxury is the ruin of a ſtate. Immoderate enjoyment is the greateſt political ſin. An unequal participation of national riches is the cauſe why half a people are tyrants, and the other half ſlaves. Thus cry out our philoſophers here, and they are in the right. Still more, you find it obſerved in almoſt every parliamentary debate in England, that Britiſh freedom will be ruined by the diſproportionate riches of part of its members, and the facility there is of acquiring them. They ſay that pleaſure, corruption, ambition, and extreme poverty, have enervated the nation; but how is it poſſible to ſet bounds to luxury and immenſe riches, except by the Pruſſian exciſe? The more a man ſpends, and the richer he is, the more he pays to the ſtate, which divides this overflow of the richer claſs amongſt the poorer, and by this means reſtores the balance as much as it is poſſible to do it. Once grant that the real ſtrength of a people conſiſts in frugality, induſtry, and an equal diviſion of property, and you muſt be content to put yourſelf above the trifling inconveniencies, which a ſmall part of the whole muſt unavoidably be expoſed to, from an attention to theſe maxims.

Is there any country that has waſted its ſtrength on merchandize, that has been able to

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ſupport itſelf long? The immenſe quantity of riches, the inevitable conſequences of the freedom of trade, have always drawn along with them luxury, extravagance, effeminacy, tyranny, and the conſequent ruin of the country. Mr. Wraxall himſelf, who has echoed the outcry of the merchant on the Pruſſian ſyſtem of finance, but who might have convinced himſelf, in the houſes of the Pruſſian farmers, that the king's ſubjects are not at all in arms againſt him, as he ſays they are; Mr. Wraxall himſelf is the warmeſt declaimer againſt the pride and tyranny which great riches have introduced in England; but let him ſhew me another dam to theſe ravages, beſides that which has been oppoſed to them by the king of Pruſſia.

It is a ſtrange perverting of political reaſoning, when one hears the ſame man cry in England, that the great wealth of the nobility hath undermined the wealth of the ſtate, and finds him in Pruſſia joining the Pruſſian nobility, in ſaying, that the proſperity of the farmers is hurtful to the intereſts of Pruſſia. Hiſtory can ſhew no example of the proſperity of the farmers having excited convulſions in a ſtate; whereas it abounds in inſtances of ſtates overturned by the power of the nobles and the freedom of trade. The farmer ſeldom has too much;

much; but if he does happen to be rich, his income is more equally divided than that of the inhabitant of the city; he has beſides more children to provide for out of it; beſides this, as the farmer's ſubſtance is procured by hard labour, he is more frugal in the management of it, and on that account likewiſe leſs hurtful to the ſtate.

The Pruſſian ſyſtem of exciſe does not in the leaſt affect the real proſperity of the ſubject; it affects only the conſumption and the diſorderly foreign trade. The only object of it is to make the ſubjects frugal; and frugality is the mother of induſtry. There is no ſcience in which ſo much ſophiſtry has been uſed as in that of ſtate œconomy. It is generally thought that trade alone will make a country rich, whereas nothing is ſo falſe. Cadiz, Naples, Liſbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, and many other flouriſhing trading towns I could mention, flouriſh at the expence of the countries to which they belong. When they cry out in Pruſſia, that trade has fallen off, it only means that the conſumption has decreaſed; no doubt it is a falling off to the dealers in coffee, that they cannot ſell as much coffee as they were uſed to do; but theſe people, who are the perſons that have raiſed the outcry againſt

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the king, ought to conſider, that a country of Jews (I ſpeak of modern Jews) is the moſt wretched of all countries, and that a governor is in the right to concern himſelf very little about what may be for their advantage.

If foreign trade has decreaſed in the Pruſſian dominions, on the other hand induſtry has increaſed. There is a viſible proof of this in the aſtoniſhing increaſe of towns and of population. No country in Europe of the ſame ſize has doubled its population, as the Pruſſian dominions have done (in theſe I do not compriſe the conquered countries) within the ſpace of fifty years. This ſingle fact contradicts all the outcry about Pruſſian deſpotiſm. Effects muſt always correſpond with their cauſes, and no adminiſtration hoſtile to humanity, could produce ſuch an aſtoniſhing increaſe of men.

Even the monopolies make part of the king's ſyſtem of univerſal benevolence. I ſhall not enter into an exact diſquiſition of every ſingle article, but only conſider that which raiſes the greateſt outcry, namely the monopoly of wood. The company who is in poſſeſſion of this large ſum of money, pays the king, or what is the ſame thing, the ſtate, for the king has neither ſtables of ſix thouſand horſes, nor coach-houſes with

coaches in them worth 50,000 livres, nor a table of fifty covers, nor miſtreſſes, nor hunts, nor journies which coſt ſeveral millions. This company is not allowed to ſet an arbitrary price on its commodity, but the wood is taxed, and it is obliged to furniſh the beſt ſort. Though the price of the wood be high, it keeps pace with the wages of the manufacturers; ſo no man feels it but thoſe who live upon their own eſtates without doing any thing, or thoſe who receive ſtipends from the court. If the former of theſe would work like the other parts of the induſtrious public, they would reckon the articles of fire-wood in their account; as they do not, they are very properly puniſhed for their lazineſs. As to the latter, to be ſure they do not get much, but what they get is ſufficient for the decent purpoſes of life, and the king's maxim is, that every man ſhall have enough, but no man ſhall have too much. To the farmer the monopoly is of ſervice, for the company is obliged to ſell him the wood as cheap as if there was no monopoly, and beſides, he is himſelf allowed to carry a certain portion of it to market, where the regulations enable him to ſell it to better advantage than he would do otherwiſe. The monopoly alſo ſerves to preſerve the foreſts, which

which all Europe has long lamented the diminution of. The ſcarcity of wood makes people more cautious how they grub up and burn. Nor does the monopoly affect any but the inhabitants of Berlin and Potſdam, who have great advantages over the reſt of the country, from the reſidence of many officers of ſtate in them, and the facility with which money circulates. Strangers, indeed, who reaſon from the ſtate of their own purſes, and ſee that the materials for fire are as dear at Berlin and Potſdam as Braſil and Campeachy wood, form no prejudices in favour of the Pruſſian monopolies, and thus far they are in the right; but when they build upon ſuch grounds to call the king of Pruſſia a tyrant, as Mr. Wraxall does, it is going a little too far.

The other monopolies are like thoſe we meet with in other countries, to wit, on tobacco, ſalt, cards, and the like. The king encourages every kind of manufacture and trade which does not militate with the whole ſyſtem of his adminiſtration, but he endeavours chiefly to promote the exportation of ſuch articles as are of real advantage to the country, and leaſt likely to be affected by a competition with other powers, or the variations of faſhion. Of this

kind are the woollen ſtuffs of this place, the Sileſian linens and cloths, tobacco, and various other articles; the prime materials of which grow in the country, and find an eaſy admittance every where. Beſides theſe primary articles, the manufactures of ſilk, wrought iron, and ſteel, looking glaſſes, china, ſugar, and above all, the trade in wood bring great ſums of foreign gold into the country. The Poles pay a large tribute to Pruſſian induſtry; and, indeed, every where the balance is in favour of the Pruſſian merchant, in conſequence of that frugality and abſtinence, which follows from the king's ſyſtem of exciſe.

The king's treaſury, into which ſo much money flows every year, is commonly looked upon as one of the greateſt obſtacles to the trade of the country. This may be true with regard to the common Jewiſh ſort of trade, which, though favourable to lazineſs and avarice, is, in fact, as hurtful to the ſtate as the ſale of mountebank and quack medicines; but in my opinion, the king's treaſury is one of his wiſeſt inſtitutions. He yearly lays by in it a ſum of money, which bears a fixed proportion to that which the balance of trade in his favour brings him in from the ſtranger. It is gene-

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rally thought that the ſum thus ſet by amounts to 100,000l. or as much as the new buildings, the payment of the troops, and the improvements made in the country reſpectively coſt; but if we conſider that the whole income of the ſtate is appropriated to particular and ſpecific purpoſes, according to a ſettled and permanent order, never interrupted by any *menus plaiſirs*; and that, according to the higheſt calculation, the balance in favour of the Pruſſian trade produces only two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, it will appear that the king does not lay by half of what comes from foreign trade.

It is one of the nonſenſical maxims of the preſent age, which, like a great many others of the ſame kind, have crept into our modern political theories and romances, that all the money of a country muſt be employed in the circulation, and none of it be laid by for caſes of neceſſity; but it was owing to the royal treaſure that no taxes were raiſed in the laſt war, and it is for this very purpoſe that it was intended; for in the American war, the increaſe of taxes fell heavier on the French and Engliſh than all the other preſſures of the ſtate put together. Schroeder, who is one of the oldeſt and moſt

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acute of the German political writers, has long ſhewn the falſity of this maxim. Beſides, that, taxes fall more heavily on the ſubject, and are more difficult to raiſe in time of war than in time of peace, they cannot be ſo ſoon collected; and if in conſequence of this you are compelled to add new ones, the reſult will be what we have ſeen happen in France, many provinces will be ſo exhauſted in three or four years as not to recover for a whole century. In theſe emergencies miniſters have recourſe to ſtate lotteries, loans, &c. which finally produce the fine ſyſtem of debt, which annually conſumes half the revenue of Great Britain.

If the king of Pruſſia had had no treaſure, it would have been impoſſible, after the terrible war which laſted from 1756 to 1763, for his lands not only to recover, but to be in a more flouriſhing ſituation than they were before. There is alſo a local conſideration, which makes the king of Pruſſia's treaſure of peculiar conſequence to that country, which is, that as ſeveral parts of it lie open to the enemy, were it not for this reſource it would be poſſible at the breaking out of a war, to cut off a great part of the revenue, by ſeizing upon a principal town. Indeed

it is to the reſerved ſupplies which have enabled him to parry every evil of this kind, that the king owes the ſucceſs of thoſe operations which have rendered his name immortal. Nor is the treaſury intirely inactive at any period. At different times the king has lent very conſiderable ſums at a very inconſiderable intereſt to the ſtates of ſeveral of his provinces; theſe ſums are in circulation, and all that the king requires, is, the exact reimburſement at the time fixed.

The Pruſſian ſtate, conſidered as a ſtate, is the richeſt in Europe; and it is abſolutely impoſſible that it ever ſhould be expoſed to feel any inconvenience from the want of money; for its ſyſtem of finance is eſtabliſhed upon ſuch ſolid foundations, that if any of the king's ſucceſſors were to think of introducing a change, it would overturn the whole building. You would hardly think it, but I can aſſure you, that the bank bills of this place are bought up with avidity. No body has any opinion that they will ever loſe their credit. The Dutch are very happy when this bank will take their money, as notwithſtanding all the outcry about Pruſſian deſpotiſm, they are convinced it cannot be more ſecure any where than it is here. Upon the whole, it is eaſy to ſee, that

that moſt of our very wiſe declaimers againſt the government of Pruſſia, draw their topics from the difference they obſerve between it and the other European governments; whereas if they would give themſelves the trouble to lift up their eyes and give matters a little cloſer and nearer inſpection, they would ſoon give up their prejudices, unleſs, indeed, their ſelf-love made them incapable of all judgment. I have known none of theſe gentlemen but what have praiſed, in ſome part or other of their works, the very principles on which the Pruſſian government is built, though they overlooked them and could not ſee them when they were writing profeſſedly about it. This ariſes from the amazing difference that there is betwixt theory and practice, and that in all philoſophical declamations people commonly only conſider the end, without thinking of the means by which it is to be brought about; nay, they often overlook the only means by which it can be brought about at all. Hence it has appeared, that thoſe who have written the moſt ſtrongly againſt luxury, have not been favourable to the Pruſſian ſyſtem of exciſe, though it is the only ſure dam whereby all exceſſes may be reſtrained. All the political principles with reſpect to the happineſs of nations,

nations, which l'Abbé Raynal gives us in that famous *Hiſtoire Politique et Philoſophique* of his, in which he is ſo violent againſt the king of Pruſſia, without knowing any thing about him, had been adopted in Pruſſia, and perhaps no where elſe in the wide world before the Abbé put pen to paper.

Another part of theſe declaimers find fault only for the ſake of appearing ſingular. Mr. Guibert, and ſome others of our countrymen, are amongſt this claſs. Theſe gentlemen took it in their heads to exhibit the king to a people, the god of whoſe idolatry he has long been, through a kind of magic lanthorn, with his head where his heels ſhould be. Doubtleſs, the indifference with which the king is accuſtomed to behold all ſuch buffooneries, muſt have made them vaſtly pleaſed with their wiſe work.

The king of Pruſſia, and his father, have ſolved the three moſt difficult problems of ſtate that exiſt, and hiſtory affords no example of their having been ſolved ſo quickly, ſo happily, and ſo univerſally, as they have been by theſe princes. They have made a lazy, prodigal, and ſtupid people induſtrious, active, and alert; they have given to a country, which had been entirely neglected by nature, a value which many

many of the moſt highly favoured countries have not, and they have placed a ſmall nation in a ſituation not only to vanquiſh *in a favourable moment* all the combined forces of the mightieſt monarchies of Europe united, but to be able *at any time* to meaſure ſwords with either of them ſingly.

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